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M. TULLI CICERONIS
ORATIONES IN L. CATILINAM

London: C. J. CLAY AND SONS,
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,
AVE MARIA LANE.

Glasgow: 50, WELLINGTON STREET.



Leipzig: F. A. BROCKHAUS.

New York: THE MACMILLAN COMPANY.

Bombay and Calcutta: MACMILLAN AND CO., LTD.

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Pitt Press Series.

M. TULLI CICERONIS
ORATIONES
IN L. CATILINAM QUATTUOR

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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CAMBRIDGE:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1902

Cambridge:

PRINTED BY J. AND C. F. CLAY,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

PREFACE.

IN preparing this edition for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press I have kept in view the requirements of the average schoolboy and have based my notes on practical experience of what those requirements are.

The text is practically that of C. F. W. Müller (Teubner 1896) and I have summarized in an Appendix the few deviations from it. The spelling conforms in the main with the principles laid down by Dr Reid in his editions of Cicero's speeches.

The Introduction and Notes may appear long, but it is not safe to assume that all boys are provided with Classical Dictionaries or have access to books of reference. The Index and Word-lists will, I hope, be useful in revision. They have been compiled with that end in view.

In writing the Introduction I found the treatise of Dr Constantin John most suggestive and helpful: where I have differed from his conclusions I have done so

only after consulting and weighing the original authorities. In revising the notes I have made use mainly of Richter and Eberhard's Edition of the Catilinarian Orations (6th ed. Teubner 1897).

I have to thank my friends Mr A. W. W. Dale, Principal of University College, Liverpool, and Mr L. Whibley, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, for assistance in proof-reading and for many useful suggestions.

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL, PORTSMOUTH,
July, 1902.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

1. THE attempt of Sulla to set on a firm basis the power of the Senate, and to ensure the supremacy of the aristocracy, was foredoomed to failure. He himself, in the long struggle with his great rival Marius, had shown only too plainly that power had passed from the hands of the Senate, and that any general of ability and ambition might put himself at the head of affairs. From the day on which Sulla entered Rome at the head of his army, to drive out the adherents of Marius and to assert with the sword his claim to the command against Mithridates, the Republic was doomed.

2. Yet even Sulla could hardly have expected that his work would be so soon undone. He died in 78 B.C., and in 70 B.C. Pompey and Crassus restored the Tribunicial power and deprived the Senate of its monopoly of the *iudicia*¹. Three years later the Lex Gabinia gave to Pompey the command in the war against the pirates, and at the same time bestowed upon him such unlimited authority and such boundless resources that it became plain that Pompey was in a position to make himself master of the Roman world. The Lex Manilia of 66 B.C., which was supported by Cicero in his speech *de Imperio Cn. Pompei*, renewed and confirmed that authority by giving to Pompey the conduct of the Mithridatic War, and for four years he remained in the East subduing vast territories and creating new provinces.

¹ See note on 4, 15, l. 25.

During his absence Rome passed through the crisis of the Catilinarian conspiracy.

THE STATE OF PARTIES.

3. Before however proceeding to an account of the conspiracy it will be well to sketch briefly the state of parties and the conditions of society which made such a movement possible.

From the year 70 B.C. in which the Sullan constitution came to an end there were three main parties in the State:

(a) The party of the Senate and Aristocracy; best known by the title of *Optimates*, or *Boni*.

(b) The party of the *Equites*; the Capitalist party, consisting of men possessing the Equestrian census (or money qualification) and engaged for the most part in farming the taxes or in similar lucrative employments from which Senators were by law debarred.

(c) The party of the restored Democracy; best known by the title of *Populares*.

It is important that the real character of this last party should be defined. No doubt among the democrats of Rome there were many who represented the best traditions of the old Republic, but they were a minority. The number of distinguished Italians, who came to the front, from Marius to Cicero and onward, is sufficient proof that the old Roman spirit was strong in the wider area to which the Roman franchise was now extended: but it was impossible in the nature of the case that the Italians should exercise an influence over the politics of Rome, at all proportionate to their numbers. So long as the Comitia were held in Rome, and the principle of representation was undreamt of, the mass of citizens within the walls necessarily predominated.

The Populares therefore were the city-mob; and the city-mob of Rome was already the fit forerunner of the populace, whose cry, in the words of Juvenal¹, was only for 'bread and games.'

¹ Juv. Sat. 10, *So diu tantum res anxius optat, panem et circenses.*

With this party the Equites made common cause against the Optimates in 70 B.C., and from 70 to 63 B.C. the history of Roman politics turns upon the manoeuvres of the leaders of these three parties, their rivalries, their combinations.

4. The Democratic party during these years was led by ambitious and self-seeking men who cared nothing for Republican traditions. They supported the Gabinian and Manilian proposals which reduced the Senate to a cipher, and they did this solely from motives of self-interest, looking forward to a time when by the same means similar powers might be secured for themselves. But no sooner had Pompey gone than a feeling of apprehension sprang up, which was enhanced by the tidings of his unbroken successes. The question in the minds of the leaders of all parties was, What will he do when he returns? It seemed most unlikely that he would lay down his command; yet, if he made himself virtually king, would he not wade to a throne through blood? Men who had lived through the times of Marius and Sulla, who like Catiline had taken part in the work of massacre, looked forward to a renewal of the proscriptions¹. No one, not even Cicero, who believed in Pompey, at any rate when he supported the Lex Manilia, dreamed that he would retire quietly into private life.

5. This dread of Pompey's return had a twofold effect:

(a) It created a feverish anxiety, especially among the ambitious leaders of the *Populares*, to contrive some counterpoise to his power.

(b) It suggested to the desperate an opportunity for overthrowing the government, and for carrying out an anarchist programme.

These two effects, although to some extent interdependent, must be kept carefully distinct.

(a). Caesar had come to the front as the leader of the popular party. He was a nephew of the great Gaius Marius and posed as the hereditary chief of the Marian party.

¹ See note on 2, 21, l. 29.

His endeavours to bring to justice the ringleaders in the Sullan proscription, and his re-erection of the trophies of the Cimbrian War, were intended to embarrass the government, while at the same time they increased his own popularity. His efforts to procure the Roman franchise for the Transpadani showed that he looked far afield for the sources of his influence. Whether or not he was concerned in the mysterious *coup d'état* of 65 B.C. will be discussed further on; but in any case the Agrarian law proposed by Rullus¹ in 63 B.C. clearly had for its object the creation for Caesar and Crassus of a commission with power so wide as would place them almost on a footing with Pompey himself.

(b) Such an unsettled state of affairs was dangerous at any time, but especially in the Rome of that day. In the words of an often-quoted passage of Mommsen, we must "conceive to ourselves a London with the slave-population of New Orleans, with the police of Constantinople, with the non-industrial character of the modern Rome, and agitated by politics after the fashion of the Paris of 1848," in order to form a fair estimate. The ranks of the dangerous classes were swollen by turbulent elements² - the ruined descendants of revolution, men who had made fortunes in the bloody times of proscription and lost them - the dissolute and bankrupt among the gilded youth - the Sullan

¹ "It was proposed to divide the Ager Campanus among the poorer citizens, to compensate all who had been robbed of their property by Sulla by the sale of all the Ager Publicus in Italy and in the provinces, and to purchase land in Italy for the poor, otherwise unprovided for, from the wealth which had poured into the treasury during the recent conquests of Pompeius" (Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities). For the execution of this measure decemvirs with a special jurisdiction and special imperium were to be nominated, who were to remain five years in office. The exclusion of any candidates who should not personally announce their candidature was obviously aimed against Pompey. The law was rejected in spite of its popular character, and the eloquence of Cicero had much to do with its rejection.

² Boissier, *Cicéron et ses amis*, p. 224 la *démagogie romaine*.

colonists who had tired of country life and drifted to the town. To most of these men an upheaval of Society, a revolution with *novae tabulae*¹ for its watchword, had a natural attraction.

6. It is not strange then that a desperate and able man like Catiline should have conceived the idea, after repeated rebuffs in his efforts to secure the consulship, of putting himself at the head of a revolution in which the dangerous classes of the city should make common cause with the discontented colonists of Etruria.

THE CONSPIRACY.

7. Lucius Sergius Catilina first appears in history during the Sullan proscriptions, when he is said to have murdered his brother-in-law, and M. Marius Gratidianus a relation of Marius and Cicero. His private life was stained with crime, and he was even charged with having made away with his first wife and his own son that he might marry the infamous Orestilla. The murder of his son is probably the *aliud incredibile scelus* to which Cicero refers in 1, 14, l. 14.

According to Cicero and Sallust he was a reckless debauchee, remarkable for his physical strength and for his powers of endurance, and not less for the sinister influence which he exercised over the young men of high birth and embarrassed fortunes whom he gathered about him. Sallust (Catilina 15, 5) describes his personal appearance in lurid terms, "his face was colourless, his eyes bloodshot, his step now quick, now slow; his look bore the stamp of a disordered mind." As Sallust was a young man of 22 in the year of Cicero's consulship his evidence on such a point carries weight.

8. At the same time it is interesting to look at Catiline, as he appeared to Cicero a few years earlier, and to contrast with the invectives of the great orator his more sober utterances. For example in 65 B.C. we find Cicero entertaining the idea

¹ See note on 2, 18, l. 11.

of defending Catiline in court, and evidently counting upon his support in his own candidature for the consulship¹. Later, in the speech pro Caelio, he distinctly says that Catiline had at one time deceived him as to his intentions, and imposed upon him as *civis bonus et optimi cuiusque cupidus*, in short as *firmus amicus ac fidelis*².

It is clear that Catiline's bloody record did not weigh heavily against him in 65 B.C.; yet it is not necessary to assume that he was an injured and misunderstood aspirant for power, because the evidence for his guilt comes entirely from the pens of his enemies. Unless Cicero's statements are pure romance, it is impossible to believe that Catiline was merely carrying on the work of the Gracchi and of Drusus, and that his only crime was that he failed where Caesar ultimately succeeded. And when all allowance has been made for Cicero's personal vanity, and his natural desire to make Catiline as formidable and dangerous a figure as possible, I cannot agree with Professor Tyrrell's view that Catiline was 'weak and undecided,' 'lacking in individuality,' 'an imposing stage-villain,' 'a sort of make-believe stage earthquake.'

Against this view Sallust must weigh heavily. Mommsen calls him a Caesarian pamphleteer; but even granting that he keeps Caesar's complicity (if complicity there was) in the background, he holds no brief for Cicero, and yet writing as a contemporary of a period and of events with which he must have

¹ Ad Att. 1, 2 *hoc tempore Catilinam, competitorem nostrum. defendere cogitamus. . . . spero, si absolutus erit, coniunctiorem illum nobis fore in ratione petitionis.*

² The following sketch of Catiline's character is especially interesting—pro Caelio 12 *habuit ille permulta maximarum non expressa sed adumbrata signa virtutum*, and 13 *illa vero in illo homine mirabilia fuerunt, comprehendere multos amicitia, tueri obsequio, cum omnibus communicare quod habebat, servire temporibus suorum omnium pecunia, gratia, labore corporis, scelere etiam, si opus esset, et audacia; . . . cum tristibus severe, cum remissis iucunde, cum senibus graviter, cum iuventute comiter, cum facinorosis audacter, cum libidinis luxuriose vivere.*

been well acquainted he bears out in the main the picture which Cicero has drawn.

THE SO-CALLED FIRST CONSPIRACY.

9. Catiline was prætor of the province of Africa in 67 B.C. and in 66 B.C. he was a candidate for the consulship, but was prevented from standing by a threat of prosecution for extortion in his province. The consuls elected in 66 B.C., P. Autronius and P. Sulla, had to resign, as they were condemned for bribery, and their places were taken by L. Cotta and L. Torquatus.

Towards the end of 66 Catiline is said to have taken part in a conspiracy as to the facts of which there is much uncertainty. Sallust introduces his account of it as a digression with the words *sed antea item coniuraverunt pauci contra rem publicam in quibus Catilina fuit*¹. He names as the leaders Catiline, Autronius and Cn. Piso. Their object he says was to kill the consuls L. Cotta and L. Torquatus on the first of January *in Capitolio*². Catiline and Autronius were to seize the fasces and despatch Piso with an army to occupy both Spains. The plot leaked out, but a still wider scheme of butchery was devised for February 5th, which was frustrated only by Catiline's being in too great a hurry to give the signal.

P. Cornelius Sulla (probably a nephew of the great Sulla) was also suspected of complicity, not only in this plot, but in the plot of 63; and in the speech delivered in his defence in 62, after the death of Catiline, Cicero refers explicitly to the two conspiracies³, but is discreetly vague about the first.

¹ Sall. Cat. 18.

² Cic. refers to this conspiracy in Cat. I, 15, l. 24 where he says it was notorious that Catiline *pridie Kalendas Januarias Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetit in comitio cum telo*, and adds that the consuls and principes were saved not by Catiline's thinking better of it or being afraid, but solely by the good fortune of the Roman people.

³ Pro Sulla 4, 11 *duae coniurationes abs te, Torquate, constituuntur, una, quae Lepido et Tullo consulibus, patre tuo consule designato, jacta esse dicitur, altera quae me consule.*

He leaves Hortensius¹ his fellow-counsel to deal with the conspiracy of 65 and disclaims all knowledge of its details in the words—*illius igitur coniurationis testis esse non potui: non modo animo nihil comperi, sed vix ad aures meas iustus suspicionis fama pervenit*¹.

10. To make confusion worse confounded Suetonius in his life of Caesar gives an entirely different version of the whole affair. He says that shortly before his year of office as aedile (65 B.C.) Caesar was suspected of a joint conspiracy, with Crassus, Sulla, and Autronius, to attack the Senate, and, after murdering whom they pleased, to make Sulla and Autronius consuls, while Crassus was to become dictator with Caesar as his master of the horse. Catiline's name is not even mentioned.

Suetonius gives as his authorities Tanusius Geminus, a historian of whom nothing is known, and M. Bibulus and C. Curio, who were no friends to Caesar. He adds that Cicero in a letter to one Axius says *Caesarem in consulatu confirmasse regnum de quo aedilis cogitabat*, a statement which is no doubt true enough in the sense that Caesar, who was then³ 37 years of age, looked forward to the time when the leadership of the State might be within his grasp².

This story of Suetonius, Mommsen and John³ are inclined to accept, yet it contains one inherent improbability in that Tanusius, one of his authorities, makes Caesar play the rôle of Catiline. The signal for the massacre was to be given by Caesar's letting fall his toga from his shoulder. To any one who realizes Caesar's generosity in the hour of victory, the way in which he disappointed all the sanguinary anticipations of his

¹ Pro Sulla 4, 12.

² Gaston Boissier, Cicéron et ses amis, p. 240 César se rendait compte au moins de son ambition, et il savait nettement ce qu'il voulait faire. Ses projets étaient arrêtés avant même qu'il fût entré dans la vie publique; il avait formé dans sa jeunesse le dessein de se faire maître.

³ Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Catilinarischen Verschwörung. Dr Constantin John. Leipzig, Teubner, 1876.

enemies, who, including Cicero, fully expected him to renew the proscriptions of Sulla and the massacres of his uncle Marius, it seems incredible that at an age when his character was formed, his prospects and popularity more or less assured, he should have had anything to do with a scheme of wholesale and treacherous murder.

II. There are however two other facts to be considered in connection with the affair of 65 which, while not elucidating the tangle, suggest another interpretation.

(i). The plot failed, yet Piso was sent to Hither Spain as quaestor pro praetore, *adnitente Crasso*, says Sallust, because Crassus knew him to be a personal enemy of Pompey, and he adds the significant words *boni complures praesidium in eo putabant, et iam tum potentia Pompei formidolosa erat*¹. Suetonius, in the passage already referred to, says there was an agreement between Caesar and Piso that while Piso furthered the revolutionary projects abroad, Caesar should do the same in Rome. This scheme collapsed on the death of Piso, who, so it was alleged, was murdered in Spain by the emissaries of Pompey.

(ii) When the trial of Catiline, for his misdeeds in the provinces, came on in 65 we learn from the pro Sulla that Torquatus (the ex-consul whom Catiline was to have murdered) with other consulares supported Catiline in court and bore testimony to his character². Cicero makes light of this by minimising the importance of a conspiracy which Torquatus had no doubt heard of, but in the existence of which he hardly believed³.

Dr Constantin John in his learned treatise on the Catilinarian conspiracy accepts the story about Caesar and Crassus, and maintains that in this first conspiracy Catiline and Piso were

¹ Sall. Cat. 19.

² Pro Sulla 29, 81 *adjuerunt Catilinae illumque laudarunt*.

³ ib. 29, 81 *nulla tum patebat, nulla erat cognita coniuratio*, and *cui cum adfuit* (Torquatus) *post delatam ad eum primam illam coniurationem, indicavit se audisse aliquid, non credidisse*.

merely tools in their hands¹. This in his opinion explains Piso's appointment, and to some extent accounts for the support given to Catiline at his trial.

12. The real truth about this first conspiracy is probably unattainable. It has been shown that Rome was in a state of dangerous ferment. The air was full of schemes and counter-schemes. Undoubtedly Caesar and Crassus desired to secure a position for themselves from which they could view Pompey's return with equanimity. Undoubtedly there was in Rome and in Italy at that time abundant material for a revolution of an anarchist type, for which revolution Catiline was marked out as an obvious leader. He had imbrued his hands in blood in the Sullan reign of terror. He possessed all the mental and physical qualities which make a man a fitting leader of desperate men. But there is no need, even with Suetonius' authority, to transfer to Caesar the bloody aims of Catiline. The same view applies with equal force to the undoubted conspiracy of 63. It is conceivable that Caesar was fully aware of Catiline's intentions, whether these were matured as early as 65 or not, and that he saw his opportunity in a rising from which he held aloof, and with the methods of which he had no sympathy².

But we cannot arrive at any certain conclusion. We can only say with Sallust, *eam rem in medio relinquentius; de superiore coniuratione satis dictum*.

¹ pp. 706—726.

² Dr J. S. Reid in his Introduction to the pro Sulla, p. 12, says "It is impossible to attribute any importance to the account of Suetonius, that Crassus and Caesar were behind Catiline..... This tale sprang partly from the protection extended in the Senate to Piso by Crassus, and partly from surmises current concerning Caesar and Crassus during the later conspiracy of Catiline."

Is it not possible to assume that there was in 65 B.C. a political plot in which Caesar and Crassus, and possibly Catiline, played a part, that the plot failed, and that popular tradition and the malice of Caesar's enemies invested the affair of 65 with the lurid details of 63?

CICERO ATTAINS THE CONSULSHIP.

13. In 65 Catiline, who had been prosecuted (as mentioned in § 9) by Clodius, was acquitted and again tried to secure the consulship. He failed again, but in 64 renewed his candidature. C. Antonius Hybrida, a man of indifferent character, was also standing, and Catiline hoped to have him for a colleague. But at the consular elections though Antonius was appointed Catiline again failed and Cicero headed the poll. His election requires a few words of explanation.

The natural leaders of the Optimates, men like Catulus and Lucullus, had practically retired from politics. Their interests were absorbed in their palaces and fish-ponds¹. An opening was thus left for Cicero, whose powers of eloquence had brought him to the front and carried him through the various stages of public life *suo anno*². Although a *novus homo*³, and a provincial (*inquilinus civis* is Catiline's taunt against him)⁴, he triumphed over aristocratic exclusiveness, and the fact that he was a native of Arpinum⁵ probably helped him with the *Populares*, whose good-will he had secured by his support of the Manilian

¹ Ad Att. i, 18, 6 *ita sunt stulti, ut amissa republica piscinas suas fore salvas sperare videantur*.

² Cicero was born in 106 B.C. at Arpinum, among the Volscian hills. He came of an equestrian stock, but as none of his ancestors had held curule office he was *homo novus* and owed all to his own abilities and exertions. He came early to Rome, and received the training of an orator and a lawyer. He first attracted public attention by his courageous defence of Roscius of Ameria against Chrysogonus, a creature of Sulla's. He then found it prudent to quit Rome and studied rhetoric in Rhodes. In 75 he was quaestor in Sicily, in 70 he prosecuted Verres, in 69 he was aedile, in 66 as praetor he made his first political speech *pro lege Manilia*. He was elected consul in 64. For *suo anno* see note on i, 28, l. 31.

³ See note on i, 28, l. 30.

⁴ Sall. Cat. 31, 8.

⁵ The birthplace of Marius.

proposal¹. At heart he was a staunch supporter of the old régime, and upheld the rule of the Optimates, and although no man of action and lacking in political insight and force of character he was on the whole honestly true to his political ideal. At the same time it is doubtful if he would have attained the consulate had it not been for the undercurrent of anarchical intrigue which welded together the propertied classes, and brought about for a time that *concordia ordinum* which was one of his political dreams. The union of Senate and Equites against the common enemy, combined with the support of the Italian electors, made Cicero consul for the year 63 B.C.

14. Having secured the neutrality of Antonius, by surrendering to him the reversion of the rich province of Macedonia, Cicero was able to devote all his energies to watching and keeping himself in touch with the machinations of Catiline who had by this time determined upon revolution². Cicero's position was no easy one; the executive was weak, he himself was essentially a civilian. His colleague though too lethargic to be dangerous was notoriously in sympathy with Catiline.

¹ In the speech de Imp. Pompei.

² Dr John, pp. 772-6, argues that Sallust is wrong in dating the beginning of the Second Conspiracy from 64. Cicero, anxious to emphasize the greatness of the peril, throws back the origin to the affair of 65. In the letter to Pompey to which he refers in the pro Sulla (24, 67) he says *furorem incredibilem biennio ante conceptum erupisse in meo consulatu*, and in the pro Murena (38, 81) *omnia quae per hoc triennium agitata sunt, iam ab eo tempore, quo a L. Catilina et Cn. Pisone initum consilium senatus interficiendi*. Against this must be set Cicero's attitude to the First Conspiracy, which has been discussed in § 9.

Dr John urges that it is inconceivable that Catiline should have been hatching revolution and at the same time seeking the consulship by legitimate means. Yet surely it is conceivable that he wished for the consulship that he might use his authority for revolutionary ends. In any case his final failure at the elections of 63 brought matters to a crisis: he could and would wait no longer, and the preparations which had been maturing probably since 64 were hastily developed.

The consular elections for 62 B.C., which were held probably in July 63¹, brought matters to a crisis.

The best account of Catiline's action, appearance, and language at this juncture, is to be found in Cicero's speech pro Murena, which was delivered towards the end of the year, and is of the utmost importance as affording us contemporary evidence of a less rhetorical character than the Catilinarian speeches themselves. He pictures to us Catiline's activity, his cheerful confidence in his ultimate success, the bodyguard of informers and cut-throats who surrounded his person, the *exercitus* of adherents, colonists from Arretium and Faesulæ where Manlius was soon to hoist the standard of revolution. Catiline's look is described as full of frenzy², a conventional touch which hardly agrees with the *alacer atque lætus* of a few lines before, and suggests Professor Tyrrell's 'stage-villain.' He talked as if he already had the consulship stored up safe at home. At a meeting of his partisans he delivered what Cicero calls a *contio domestica* in which he posed as the defender of the wretched and the unfortunate³.

Cicero, who as usual kept himself fully informed of Catiline's doings and utterances, at once brought the matter before the Senate, with the result that the elections were postponed in order to give time for a discussion. On the next day in a full

¹ Dr John (749 and foll. pp.) shows conclusively that July was the usual month at this period for the consular elections. The generally received theory which fixes the comitia of 63 at the end of October presents grave difficulties. There is nothing in our extant authorities which makes the earlier date impossible, and it has the advantage of allowing a sufficient interval of time for Catiline to develop his schemes.

² Pro Mur. 24, 49 *vultus ipsius erat plenus furoris, oculi sceleris, sermo arrogantiae, sic ut ei iam exploratus et domesticus consulatus videretur.*

³ ib. 25, 59 *quare qui consumpta replere, erepta recuperare vellent, spectarent, quid ipse deberet, quid possideret, quid auderet; minime timidum et valde calamitosum esse oportere eum, qui esset futurus dux et signifer calamitosorum.*

house he appealed to Catiline for an explanation. Catiline made no attempt to clear himself; with characteristic audacity* he said that the State had two bodies, the one weak with a feeble head, the other strong but headless: the latter if it deserved well of him (by electing him consul) should not lack a head as long as he lived¹. The Senate groaned but did nothing². Catiline burst out of the House exulting.

A few days before this speech of his he had replied to a threat of Cato's (who had threatened him with a prosecution, no doubt for his violation of law in his conduct of the electioneering campaign) that if they should set his house on fire he would extinguish the conflagration not with water but with universal ruin.

RENEWAL OF CONSPIRACY.

15. On the day of the election, which probably followed shortly after these occurrences, Cicero, knowing that Catiline was bringing armed men into the Campus Martius, surrounded himself with a bodyguard of resolute followers, and equipped himself with a breastplate³ in order to impress loyal citizens with a sense of his personal danger. The election passed off quietly and Decimus Junius Silanus and Caius Licinius Murena were appointed consuls-designate.

Catiline had now failed for the fourth time to secure the consulship, and at once set in motion his plans for a rising. Faesulæ in Etruria⁴ was fixed upon as the headquarters of the insurgent force, and Manlius an experienced veteran who

¹ Pro Mur. 25, §1.

² This meeting of the Senate must be kept distinct from the meeting referred to in Cat. 1, 3, 7, at which the *ultimum senatus consultum* was passed. There is no allusion to this in the pro Murena; on the contrary, Cicero says the Senate did not pass any resolution *satis severe pro rei indignitate*, and Catiline left the assembly *triumphans gaudio*.

³ Pro Mur. 26, §2 *descendi in campum cum illa lata insignique lorica*.

⁴ 1, 5, l. 26 *castra sunt in Italia contra populum Romanum in Etruriæ faucibus collocata*.

had served with Sulla was in command there. Cicero speaks of this army as recruited from desperate old men and rustic bankrupts¹, and in the same passage after describing the adherents of Catiline who showed themselves openly in Senate and forum, sleek with unguents and brilliant in purple, he adds that he knows to whom Apulia is assigned, who is to hold Etruria, who the Picene and Gallic territories. The wild shepherds of Apulia were to be roused by Caeparius, the horrors of the slave wars were to be revived, Rome itself was to be terrorised by fire and massacre.

16. Still the Senate was inert², and the tacit approval of many men of rank and influence, and finally the sympathies of the worthless city mob⁴ induced a feeling of undue confidence and inspired Catiline with that contempt for the government which goes far to explain his recklessness.

Cicero, fully informed by Fulvia⁵ of every detail of the conspiracy, and alarmed at its progress, at length convened the Senate on October 21st and laid before them all that he knew. To make his warning still more impressive he told the senators, that on the 27th Manlius would be in arms and that a massacre of the Optimates had been fixed for the 28th⁶. The Senate accordingly, as was usual in grave crises, passed the resolution empowering the consuls to protect the State. But as the *senatus consultum* was not published, but only entered on the minutes

¹ 2, 5, l. 29 *illum exercitum...collectum ex senibus desperatis, ex agresti luxuria, ex rusticis decoloribus.*

² Sall. Cat. 16 *senatus nihil sane intentus.*

³ ib. 17 *ceterum iuventus pleraque sed maxime nobilium, Catilinae inceptis favebat.*

⁴ ib. 37 *cuncta plebes novarum rerum studio Catilinae incepta probabat.*

⁵ See Sall. Cat. 23, 3. She was the mistress of Q. Curius, one of the conspirators, and betrayed the plot to Cicero. She must be distinguished from her famous namesake who was married three times, first to P. Clodius, then to C. Scribonius Curio, and lastly to M. Antony. See Phil. 2, 44, 113.

⁶ 1, 7, ll. 20 and 25.

of the House, *inclusum in tabulis*¹, Cicero took no immediate steps against Catiline.

He had still his bodyguard², and took special precautions on the 28th to keep Catiline in check, so that the presumed plan of massacre was deferred. It must have been just about this time that a letter was read by a senator in the Senate confirming Cicero's prediction that Manlius would raise his standard on the 27th. From other quarters came news of secret gatherings and the accumulation of arms. Sallust³ speaks of movements in Hither and Further Gaul, in the Picene and Bruttian territories and in Apulia; and he adds, "for those whom Catiline had despatched beforehand, began to do everything at once without deliberation and as it were in a spirit of madness; since by their nightly meetings, by the conveyance of arms and weapons, by their hurry and restless activity, they proved rather alarming than dangerous."

17. A decree was thereupon passed by which Q. Marcus Rex was sent to Faesulae, and Q. Metellus Creticus to Apulia (both were generals waiting with their troops outside the city gates for permission to triumph), while the praetors Q. Pompeius Rufus and Q. Metellus Celer were sent respectively to Capua and Picenum, with orders to raise a force *pro tempore atque periculo*⁴. Rewards were offered to secure evidence against the conspirators, and the precautionary measure was taken of distributing the companies of gladiators⁵ among the municipia. Guards were set⁶, and watch kept in the city itself, where a general state of unrest and anxiety prevailed. Meanwhile Catiline, who was threatened with a prosecution, under the Lex Plautia de vi, for forming designs to disturb the State by violence, had taken the step of voluntarily placing himself in custody according to a curious Roman custom⁷. His object no doubt was to hoodwink his enemies, and, while gaining

¹ I, 4, l. 19.

² See 3, 5, l. 7.

³ Sall. Cat. 42.

⁴ Sall. Cat. 30, 5.

⁵ ib. 30, 7, and cf. note on 2, 19, l. 6.

⁶ I, 1, l. 4.

⁷ See note on I, 19, l. 16 and foll.

time, to create an impression in his favour. It was characteristic of the man's audacity that he appealed to Cicero to take him in charge.

A week had now passed and still matters had not come to a head. The only incident of importance was an unsuccessful attempt of the rebels to seize the strong fortress of Praeneste on the night of November 1st¹.

THE MEETING IN LAECA'S HOUSE.

18. At last on the night between the 6th and 7th of November the famous meeting of the conspirators was held in Laeca's house. At this meeting Cicero says the tasks of the ring-leaders were marked out for them; Sallust represents Catiline as complaining bitterly of the cowardice and want of energy among his supporters; all was ready in Etruria, and he himself was only eager to quit Rome and put himself at the head of his forces, but for the fact that Cicero still lived to thwart him.

C. Cornelius a Roman knight and Lucius Vargunteius, a senator volunteered that same night to murder Cicero. They were to force an entry into his house in the morning under the pretext of an early call. Curius told Fulvia, who betrayed the design to Cicero in time for him to take precautions, and when the conspirators arrived, probably on the morning of the 8th, they were refused admission. It may be inferred from Cicero that a second meeting was held on the night before the 7th and 8th, but of what was then done we know nothing².

¹ 1, 8, l. 33.

² 1, 9, l. 20.

³ The night of the first meeting in Laeca's house is fixed absolutely by the statement in the pro Sulla 52, *nocte ea quae consecuta est posterum diem Nonarum Novembrium*. The words *quid proxima, quid superiore nocte egeris* (1, 1, l. 9), though explained by some edd. as mere rhetorical amplification, seem to hint at two meetings of the conspirators on consecutive nights.

In 2, 12, l. 31 Cicero says *hesterno die, cum domi meae paene interceptus essem*. As the second speech was delivered on the 9th, the

THE FIRST SPEECH AGAINST CATILINE.

On the 8th of November the Senate was convened in the Temple of Jupiter Stator, which was situated on the Palatine Hill. The approaches were guarded, and a strong force of Equites, armed as special constables, was close to the building and within sight and earshot of those inside¹. It was then that Cicero delivered his First Oration against Catiline, in which while denouncing his nefarious attempts he urges him to quit the city, and to take with him as many of his followers as possible. With great dramatic power the orator brings before us the scene of Catiline's entry into the temple. Not a soul greeted him, the bench on which he sat was deserted, all shrinking from his neighbourhood². The speech closes with a somewhat lame apology for not arresting so dangerous a public enemy. Cicero gives three reasons:

- (1) He has sympathisers in the Senate.
- (2) The plot will be seen to be a plot if he is allowed to join Manlius.

(3) If he is allowed to leave the city, he will it is hoped draw off some of his fellow-conspirators with him.

19. Sallust gives us Catiline's reply, which is interesting, if not authentic. He describes him as rising to speak with down-cast looks and tones of entreaty. He begged the Senate not to believe anything rashly against him, he appealed to his noble rank and previous life as justifying him in looking forward to an honourable career. What object could he, a patrician, have in overthrowing the Republic, he whose ancestors had conquered

attempt to murder Cicero must have been made on the 8th. This makes it necessary to assume a delay of 24 hours in carrying out the plan, a delay which helps us to understand how Cicero was able to strengthen the guard (1, 10, l. 30), and to predict the attempt and the hour *multis ac summis viris*. See also note of 2, 13, l. 10.

¹ 1, 21, l. 18.

² 1, 16, ll. 9—18.

so many privileges upon the Commons, when even a mere settler (*inquilinus*) like Cicero was its champion? As he went on to speak, his temper got the better of him, the House shouted him down, and in his frenzy he exclaimed *quoniam quidem circumventus ab inimicis praeceps agor, incendium meum ruina restinguam*¹.

With these words he burst out of the temple, and left the city, as had no doubt been his intention, that same night, taking with him the silver eagle, a relic of the Marian days. He left behind him several of the ringleaders, among whom the senators Lentulus, Cassius and Cethegus were the most prominent.

P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura had been consul in 71 B.C. but in the following year had been expelled from the Senate for his immoral life, and had recently sought a return to politics by getting himself elected praetor. He lacked energy, and was weakly superstitious, crediting a supposed oracle which flattered his ambition and family pride, and marked him out as the third Cornelius who like Cinna and Sulla was destined to be master of Rome. C. Cornelius Cethegus was a younger man, bold and resolute, even to rashness. If he had had his way the intended massacre would not have been put off till the Saturnalia, and the result of the conspiracy might have been different.

FLIGHT OF CATILINE. THE SECOND SPEECH.

20. Catiline on his way to Faesulae despatched several letters to leading men in Rome², alleging reasons for his withdrawal and avowing his intention of seeking exile at Massilia. These letters were probably written before he left Rome, as Cicero alludes to the rumour of exile in the Second Catilinarian which was delivered on the following day, November 9th. In this speech Cicero, after putting the people in possession of the facts, and summarizing the statements of the First Catilinarian and the events which had followed upon its delivery, defends

¹ Sall. Cat. 31. Cf. the passage from the pro Murena quoted in Introd. 14.

² Sall. Cat. 34.

himself against the alternative charges which he anticipates may be brought against him:

(1) That if Catiline is guilty, he has allowed a dangerous criminal to escape.

(2) That if Catiline is innocent, he has driven a guiltless citizen into exile.

The answer to (1) is a simple repetition of the argument quoted from the first speech in *Introd.* 18. He replies to (2) by bringing home to his hearers the real and dangerous character of the conspiracy.

Another letter despatched by Catiline to Q. Catulus was read by him in the Senate. Sallust gives a copy (*exemplum*) of this in full, and Dr John accepts it as a genuine document. The drift of the letter is briefly a justification of his action in leaving Rome and raising rebellion; it ends with a commendation of his wife Orestilla to Catulus' protection. Two or three phrases bear out the main outlines of the theory of the plot which has been so far indicated.

(1) *Defensionem in novo consilio non statui parare: novo* is perhaps not to be pressed but it seems to corroborate John's theory that the actual conspiracy must be placed subsequent to the consular comitia of 63.

(2) *Iniuriis contumeliisque concitatus, quod fructu laboris industriaeque meae privatus statum dignitatis non obtinebam, publicam miserorum causam pro mea consuetudine suscepi:* if these words convey Catiline's genuine feelings, it was chagrin at his final rejection for the consulship that made him desperate, and the plea that he was championing the cause of the unfortunate agrees well with the passage quoted above (*Introd.* 14, note 3, p. xxi) from the *pro Murena*.

21. Catiline left Rome by the Via Aurelia; he halted for a day or two in the neighbourhood of Arretium, and then pushed on for the camp of Manlius. He now assumed the insignia¹ of

¹ 2, 13, l. 14, and Sall. Cat. 36.

a Roman consul in the field, and the report of his action in so doing prompted the Senate to declare him a public enemy. A decree was at the same time issued inviting the rebels to lay down their arms by a certain day, under a promise of immunity to all except those who had been condemned on a capital charge. Antonius was to take the field at once, while Cicero remained to guard the city.

Still no informer, slave or free, came forward to claim the reward offered by the Senate, no rebels availed themselves of the promised amnesty by laying down their arms. Cicero had already complained (*In Cat.* 1, 30, l. 20) of those who fostered Catiline's hopes by their policy of conciliation, and who strengthened the growing conspiracy by their refusal to believe in its existence; this failure to obtain evidence, while indicating the formidable character of the conspiracy, must have added to Cicero's difficulties and increased his anxiety.

THE ALLOBROGES.

22. At this juncture, chance and the folly of the conspirators threw in Cicero's way the incriminating evidence which he required.

There were in Rome at the time certain envoys from the Allobroges, a Gallic tribe who lived between the Rhone and the Isara. Geneva lay in their territory and they were the neighbours of the Helvetii. The object of their mission to Rome was to appeal to the Senate for aid in their financial difficulties. They were heavily taxed, and in addition had incurred obligations (at a high rate of interest) to the Roman capitalists who made huge fortunes out of the embarrassed provincials. We have seen that the scope of the conspiracy included the discontented and the dangerous classes, not only in Rome, but throughout Italy; the wild shepherds, the brigands of the hills, the slaves and gladiators were all to play their part. An opportunity now offered itself of enlisting with suicidal recklessness the warlike tribes of the North, whose existence had been a standing menace to Rome since the days of Marius.

Lentulus, who in spite of his constitutional inertness took the lead, commissioned a certain P. Umbrenus, who had had business dealings in Gaul, to open communication with the Allobroges. He invited them to the house of D. Brutus, which adjoined the forum, and there in the presence of Gabinius unfolded before them the plan of conspiracy. The prospect of pillage was attractive, yet the Allobroges moved cautiously. They sought the confidence of Q. Fabius Sanga, their patron, or, as we should say, their consul in Rome, and he at once informed Cicero.

Cicero with much judgment encouraged the Allobroges through Sanga to feign enthusiasm for the scheme and so to lure the ringleaders into a trap. They demanded a written pledge from Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius and Cassius, which they could show to their countrymen, and they got it. A certain Volturcius was to accompany them to the camp of Catiline, and to see the pledges confirmed by the chief of the conspirators; he was moreover the bearer of a letter to Catiline containing the brief words—*Quis sim ex eo quem ad te misi, cognosces. Fuc cogites in quanta calamitate sis, et memineris te virum esse; consideres quid tuae rationes postulent; auxilium petas ab omnibus, etiam ab infimis*¹.

23. The Allobroges left Rome on the night between December 2nd and 3rd, and the whole party with their escort and Volturcius was arrested on the Mulvian bridge about three miles from Rome on the Via Flaminia². Cicero entrusted the business to the Praetors, L. Valerius Flaccus and Gaius

¹ Sall. Cat. 44. It is instructive to compare this version which Sallust gives as a copy (*exemplum*) with Cicero's version in 3, 12, l. 4 *Quis sim, scies ex eo, quem ad te misi. Cura ut vir sis, et cogita, quem in locum sis progressus. Vide, ecquid tibi iam sit necesse, et cura ut omnium tibi auxiliq adiungas, etiam infimorum.* Cicero of course may have quoted from memory, but if his version is verbally accurate, Sallust's copy is not what it pretends to be. || The careful study of documents was, however, almost unknown to Roman historians.

² 3, 6, l. 10.

Pomptinus. He afterwards defended the former on his trial for maladministration in the province of Asia (62 B.C.), and in the speech which he delivered recalls in graphic language the anxiety and tension of that memorable night¹.

ARREST OF THE CONSPIRATORS.

By dawn Cicero was in possession of the prisoners and their despatches. He at once summoned Gabinius, Statilius, Cethegus and Lentulus, and called a hasty meeting of the Senate in the Temple of Concord. He himself led Lentulus by the hand, in deference to his rank as praetor; the rest followed in the charge of guards. He had refused to open the secret documents beforehand, in order to convince the Senate of their authenticity.

Volturcius, having received the promise of a free pardon, first gave evidence as to his commission from Lentulus to Catiline. He was the bearer of a letter and of a message, urging Catiline to enlist slaves, and to advance to the city without delay as all the preparations were completed for setting fire to the different quarters and inaugurating a general massacre. Catiline's presence outside the walls was necessary that he might cut off fugitives and join forces with the party within. The Allobroges were questioned as to the pledges and letters which they had received, and volunteered the information that they were to furnish cavalry to the insurgents. They told also of the mischievous superstition² of Lentulus who had appealed to the Sibylline books as pointing to his being the third Cornelius, after Cinna and Sulla, who was destined to attain the sovereignty of Rome. He had also impressed them with the idea that the year 63 was fraught with destiny for the destruction of the city. Lastly they spoke of a quarrel between Lentulus

¹ Pro L. Flacco 40, 102. *O nox illa, quae patre infernas hujc urbi tenbras attulisti, cum Galli ad bellum, Catiling ad urbem, coniurati ad ferrum et flammam vocabantur: cum ego te, Flacce, caelum noctemque coniestans, flens flentem obtestabar: cum tuae fidei optimae et spectatissimae salutem urbis et civium commendabam...*

² Cf. pro Sulla 25, 70 *perversam atque impiam religionem*.

and his more impetuous colleague Cethegus, in which the latter protested against deferring the work of fire and sword till the Saturnalia.

Then the documents were produced. Each conspirator was called upon to identify his seal, before the threads were cut. The letters were read, and the conspirators confounded. Lentulus was then called upon to resign his praetorship and with the rest was handed over, by a decree of the Senate, *in liberam custodiam*. Two of the ringleaders, it may be noted in passing, Statilius and Gabinius, were entrusted respectively to the charge of C. Caesar and M. Crassus.

THE THIRD SPEECH.

24. It was getting late before the business of the Senate was completed, and by this time rumours of the murderous and incendiary character of the plot had begun to work a revulsion in popular feeling¹. A large crowd had gathered in the dusk outside the temple, and Cicero delivered to them the speech which is known as the Third against Catiline. It is a summary of the story, starting from the intrigue with the Allobroges and leading up to the scene in the Senate. The orator gives a most dramatic description of the opening of the documents and the bearing of the guilty men. He dwells at some length and with characteristic pride on the honours which the Senate had conferred upon him, and especially on the solemn thanksgiving to the Gods, with which his name was associated as having saved the city from fire, the citizens from slaughter, and Italy from war. No civilian, he said, had ever had such honour paid to him before².

On the 4th of December the Senate met again to vote

¹ Sall. Cat. §8 *interea plebs coniuratione patefacta, quae primo cupida novarum rerum nimis bello favebat, mutata mente Catilinae consilia execrari, Ciceronem ad caelum tollere.*

² Nearly twenty years later, in the famous second Philippic, Cicero alludes with pride and in identical terms to the honour—*qui honor post conditam hanc urbem habitus est togato ante me nemini.*

rewards to the Allobroges and Volturcius, and on the same day the evidence of one L. Tarquinius was taken. He had set out from Rome to join Catiline, but was arrested and brought back to the city. He bore out the statements of Volturcius. When however he went on, Sallust tells us, to implicate Crassus, he was stopped and the Senate unanimously rejected his statement as false. An attempt of Caesar's enemies to suborn witnesses against him was frustrated by Cicero, who refused to countenance such tactics¹. This rests upon Sallust's authority, but there seems no reason to doubt that the suspicions of Caesar's complicity were groundless².

THE DEBATE IN THE SENATE: THE FOURTH SPEECH.

25. On the 5th of December took place the memorable debate in which the fate of the conspirators was decided³. On the previous day there had been some rumours of an attempt to stir up a rising with a view to a rescue. Cethegus, according to Sallust⁴, had contrived to send a message to his household of slaves and freedmen, a picked and trained body, asking that they should arm and force their way to him. Cicero alludes to a report that an emissary of Lentulus was busy among the shopkeeping class, trying to influence by bribes the sympathies of the needy and ignorant⁵. But the consul had his guards posted as before; the approaches to the Temple

¹ Sall. Cat. 49 *sed isdem temporibus Q. Catulus et C. Piso neque pretio neque gratia Cicronem impellere quivere, uti per Allobroges aut alium indicem C. Caesar falso nominaretur.*

² Introd. 10, 11 and 12.

³ Pro Flacco 40, 102 *O Nonae illae Decembres quae me consule fuistis! Quem ego diem vere natalem huius urbis, aut certe salutarem, appellare possum;* and cf. the line quoted by Juvenal from Cicero's poem on his consulship *O fortunatam natam me consule Romam.*

⁴ Sall. Cat. 50 *Cethegus autem per nuntios familiam atque liberos suos, lectos et exercitatos, orabat ut grege facto cum telis ad sese irrumperent.*

⁵ 4, 17, l. 20.

of Concord, in which the Senate met, and the ascent to the Capitol were occupied by the Equites in arms¹, and the danger of a rescue would appear to have been exaggerated by Sallust, or Cicero would surely have made more of it in his speech.

The debate was opened by D. Junius Silanus who, *primus sententiam rogans*, moved that the conspirators should suffer the penalty of death. Caesar pleaded for a milder course. He proposed that they should be distributed for custody among the municipia, that their property should be confiscated, and that they should be imprisoned for life. Severe penalties would be imposed on the municipium whose charge was allowed to escape, and any attempt to alleviate the severity of their punishment either through the Senate or people was to be solemnly forbidden. Caesar deprecated the death sentence on the ground of its inadequacy, but still more strongly because of its illegality. The Lex Porcia declared that a Roman citizen must not be scourged or put to death. The Lex Sempronia forbade that a death sentence should be passed on a Roman citizen without the sanction of the people. In any case the right of a Roman citizen to an appeal (*provocatio*) to the people, was one of the bulwarks of the Constitution².

Caesar's speech made a great impression. Silanus wavered, and many senators, especially those who were friendly to Cicero, were inclined to support the milder proposal on the ground that it threatened less danger to the consul. They crowded round Cicero and urged him to consider his own safety.

26. Then Cicero rose and delivered the speech which is known as the Fourth against Catiline. It is the speech of a

¹ Phil. 2, 7, 16 and Att. 2, 1, 7 *equitatus ille quem ego in clivo Capitolino te signifero ac principe collocaram*: cf. pro Sestio 12, 28.

² It must be remembered that Caesar was pledged to uphold the right of the people to try capital cases by the part he played in bringing Rabirius to trial. He was an old man who had had a hand in the killing of Saturninus in B.C. 100, and Caesar's aim in having him prosecuted was partly to please the people, partly to weaken the Senate's authority.

man who wavers in sore perplexity, and who feels he must shift the burden of responsibility on to the shoulders of others. Boissier¹ objects that he hardly grapples with the real question at all, the constitutional and legal difficulty, but to this it may be replied that the right to give an opinion (*ius sententiæ dicendæ*) belonged to all senators except the magistrates of the year; the latter being in theory the consulting and not the consulted parties.

It is characteristic, however of the weaker side of Cicero's character that he cannot get away from the personal standpoint. On the one hand he is still filled with a sense of his own importance, and of the service which he has rendered to the State, and yet he is full of misgivings as to the future². He foresees, as it were, if not his own exile, at any rate the great risk he will have to face. He states the alternatives put forward by Silanus and Caesar, and on the whole inclines towards the sterner measure of Silanus, but he wants a strong lead from the Senate. The speech ends with an appeal for a deliberate but firm decision. He as consul is prepared to carry out that decision and to uphold it.

27. Yet a third view was to be laid before the Senate, by Tiberius Nero, who proposed a middle course by the adjournment of the debate; but the resolution of the Senate was decided by M. Porcius Cato who in a speech of great fire and vigour accused those who supported the more merciful penalty of being in sympathy with the conspirators, and ended his speech (as given in Sallust) with the words *de confessis, sicuti de manifestis rerum capitalium, more maiorum supplicium*

¹ Cicéron et ses amis, p. 48 Dans la quatrième Catilinaire, il avait à discuter cette question, une des plus graves qui puissent être posées devant une assemblée délibérante: Jusqu'à quel point est-il permis de sortir de la légalité pour sauver son pays? Il ne l'a pas même abordée. On souffre de voir comme il recule devant elle, comme il la fuit et l'évite, pour développer de petites raisons et se perdre dans un pathétique vulgaire.

² 4, 3, *passim*.

*sumendum*¹. He carried the House with him, the Senate voted for execution, and a number of the senators escorted Cicero to his house at the close of the sitting. As Caesar left the temple, some of the Roman knights who formed the guard round the building, exasperated at his having deprecated the sterner measure, or perhaps believing that he was involved in the conspiracy, threatened him with drawn swords².

On the evening of the same day the five conspirators were conducted to the State-prison, the dungeon known as the Tullianum³, where all was prepared for the execution. It was getting dark as Cicero returned across the forum, and exclaimed to the anxious crowds who were waiting in silence '*vixerunt*,' 'they are no more.'

28. The execution of the conspirators without trial has been variously criticised. Mommsen calls it 'a dreadful deed' and adds—"never perhaps, has a commonwealth more lamentably declared itself bankrupt than did Rome through this resolution—adopted in cold blood by the majority of the government, and approved by public opinion—to put to death in all haste a few political prisoners, who were no doubt culpable according to the laws, but who had not forfeited life, because forsooth the security of the prisons was not to be trusted and there was no sufficient police⁴."

Cicero he denounces as a coward and a waverer: yet we may at least give him the credit, for all his timidity, of showing the courage of a man who acts in the full knowledge that his action will lay him open to the attacks of his enemies⁵. The

¹ Sall. Cat. 52, 36.

² ib. 49, 4.

³ ib. 55, 3, and see note on 2, 22, l. 8.

⁴ Mommsen, B. v, c. 5, p. 179.

⁵ Boissier, p. 39 Aux nœuds de décembre, quand il fit périr les complices de Catilina, il n'ignorait pas les vengeances auxquelles il s'exposait, et il prévoyait son exil: il eut donc ce jour-là, malgré les hésitations qu'on lui a reprochées, plus de courage qu'un autre qui, dans un moment d'exaltation, n'aurait pas vu le danger.

danger, as Mommsen admits, was real, and the need for decisive action urgent. Cicero no doubt argued that he was shielded by the decree of the Senate *darent operam consules ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet*, which empowered him and his colleague to raise troops, to wage war, to compel allies and citizens alike to serve them in any way they chose, to exercise at home and in the field absolute authority military and judicial¹.

The mistake he made was in seeking a vote of the Senate to confirm his action, which the Senate, having devolved its power by the *ultimum decretum*, had no power to do. The only course to have taken to ensure his own safety was to appeal to the people, and this under the circumstances was impossible.

29. On the whole, however, Cicero had no cause, in spite of his exile, to regret the most famous episode of his life. Pelham's view is more just to all concerned—"The Catilinarian outbreak had been a blow to Caesar, whose schemes it interrupted. To Cicero, however, it brought not only popularity and honour, but, as he believed, the realization of his political ideal. The Senate and the equestrian order, the nobles of Rome and the middle class in the country, had made common cause in the face of a common danger; and the danger had been averted by the vigorous action of a consul sprung from the people, under the guidance of a united Senate, and backed by the mass of good citizens²."

A few weeks later (early in 62 B.C.) Catiline and his forces were annihilated in the battle of Pistoria, after they had fought with desperate courage and sold their lives dearly. The body of Catiline was found far from his own followers and surrounded by the enemy's dead.

¹ Sall. Cat. c. 29.

² Hist. of Rome, Bk IV. c. 2, p. 228.

GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE, 123—62 B.C.

123	C. Gracchus tribune: the <i>iudicia</i> handed over to Equites.		
121	Death of Gracchus and Fulvius.		
106		Birth of Cicero.	106
101	Marius and Catulus destroy the Cimbri.		
100	Coalition of Marius, Saturninus and Glaucia. Death of Saturninus and Glaucia.		
91	Marsian or Social War (91—89) ends with granting of citizenship to Italians.		
88	Sulpicius tribune: proposes to give command of 1st Mithridatic War to Marius instead of Sulla.		
	Sulla marches on Rome.		
87	Sulla leaves Italy for the East. Octavius and Cinna consuls.		
	Cinna's Revolution: massacres of Cinna and Marius.		
86	Death of Marius.		
84	Cinna killed in a mutiny. Sulla makes peace with Mithridates.		
83	Return of Sulla.		
82	He defeats Marius and the Italians: Proscriptions.		Catiline takes part in Proscriptions. 82
81	Sulla dictator (81—79): he restores Senatorial Government; excludes Equites from the <i>iudicia</i> .	Cicero defends Q. Roscius of Ameria.	81
78	Death of Sulla. Attempted Revolution of Lepidus.		
75		Cicero quaestor in Sicily.	75
74	2nd Mithridatic War (74—65), L. Lucullus, Cn. Pompeius.		
73	Insurrection of gladiators under Spartacus, Servile War (73—71).		
70	Crassus and Pompeius consuls overthrow Sullan system; Equites regain share of <i>iudicia</i> . Revival of 'Democracy.'	Cicero impeaches Verres.	70
69		Cicero curule aedile.	69
67	Lex Gabinia. Pompey clears the sea of pirates.		Catiline praetor in Africa. 67
66	Lex Manilia confers on Pompey command against Mithridates. Conspiracies in Rome: so-called 1st Conspiracy of Catiline.	Cicero as praetor supports Lex Manilia.	Catiline threatened with prosecution —takes part in 1st Conspiracy. 66
65	M. Crassus as censor proposes franchise for the Transpadanes. Caesar as curule aedile gives splendid games.		Catiline acquitted. 65
64	Conspiracy renewed in Rome: C. Antonius and Cicero elected consuls, Catiline rejected.		Trial of proscription murderers. Catiline acquitted. 64
63	Agrarian Law of Rullus: trial of Rabirius. Caesar elected pontifex maximus.	Cicero consul.	Catiline's final rejection for consulship. 63
62	The Catilinarian Conspiracy.		Death of Catiline. 62

SUMMARY OF CHIEF EVENTS CONNECTED WITH
THE CONSPIRACY OF 63.

- July? The consular elections for 62 B.C. Catiline's tactics.
Cicero calls a meeting of the Senate: Catiline's
threats. Elections postponed.
Elections held soon after. Catiline rejected.
He decides definitely for Revolution.
- July to October. Preparations for the rising pushed forward.
- October 21st. The Senate meet and pass the *ultimum decretum*.
- 27th. Manlius raises his standard at Faesulae.
- 28th. Projected murder of Optimates foiled by Cicero.
- November 1st. Attempt to seize Praeneste.
- 6th. First meeting of Conspirators in Laeca's house.
- 7th. Second meeting of Conspirators.
- 8th. Attempt to murder Cicero early in the morning.
The Senate meets in the Temple of Jupiter Stator.
1st Speech against Catiline—who leaves Rome that
night.
- 9th. 2nd Speech delivered to the people.
- December 2nd. The Allobroges with Volturcius leave Rome.
They are arrested by night and brought back.
- 3rd. The ringleaders are summoned before the Senate in
the Temple of Concord, and convicted by their
own letters and the evidence of the Allobroges.
3rd Speech delivered to the people late in the evening.
- 4th. The Senate votes rewards, and hears further evidence.
- 5th. Debate in Senate—4th Speech delivered—the death
sentence pronounced.
Execution of Lentulus and Cethegus.

praetereo, quod C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium novis rebus studentem manu sua occidit. Fuit, fuit ista quondam in hac re publica virtus, ut vii fortes acrioribus suppliciis civem perniciosum quam acerbissimum hostem coëcerent. Habemus senatus consultum, in te, Catilina, 5 vehemens et grave, non deest rei publicae consilium neque auctoritas huius ordinis; nos, nos, dico aperte, 4 consules desumus. II. Decrevit quondam senatus, ut L. Opimius consul videret, ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet; nox nulla intercessit; interfectus est 10 propter quasdam seditiorum suspiciones C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre, avo, maioribus, occisus est cum liberis M. Fulvius consularis. Simili senatus consulto C. Marius et L. Valerius consulibus est permissa res publica; num unum diem postea L. Saturninus tribunum pl. et C. 15 Servilium praetorem mors ac rei publicae poena remorata est? At [vero] nos vicesimum iam diem patimur hebescere aciem horum auctoritatis. Habemus enim huiusmodi senatus consultum, verum inclusum in tabulis tamquam in vagina reconditum, quo ex senatus 20 consulto confestim te interfectum esse, Catilina, convenit. Vivis, et vivis non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam audaciam. Cupio, patres conscripti, me esse clementem, cupio in tantis rei publicae periculis me non dissolutum videri, sed iam me ipse inertiae nequitiaeque condemno. 25 5 Castra sunt in Italia contra populum Romanum in Etruriae faucibus collocata, crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus; eorum autem castrorum imperatorem ducemque hostium intra moenia atque adeo in senatu videtis intestinam aliquam cotidie perniciem rei publicae 30 molientem. Si te iam, Catilina, comprehendi, si interfici iussero, credo, erit verendum mihi, ne non potius hoc omnes boni serius a me quam quisquam crudelius factum

esse dicat. Verum ego hoc, quod iam pridem factum
esse oportuit, certa de causa nondum adducor ut faciam.
Tum denique interficere, cum iam nemo tam improbus,
tam perditus, tam tui similis inveniri poterit, qui id non
iure factum esse fateatur. Quamdiu quisquam erit, qui
te defendere audeat, vives, et vives ita, ut vivis, multis
meis et firmis praesidiis obsessus, ne commovere te contra
rem publicam possis. Multorum te etiam oculi et aures
non sentientem, sicut adhuc fecerunt, speculabuntur
atque custodient.

III. Etenim quid est, Catilina, quod iam amplius
expectes, si neque nox tenebris obscurare coetus ne-
farios nec privata domus parietibus continere voces con-
iurationis tuae potest? si illustrantur, si erumpunt
omnia? Muta iam istam mentem, mihi crede, obli-
scere caedis atque incendiorum. Tenebris undique; luce
sunt clariora nobis tua consilia omnia; quae iam mecum
licet recognoscas. Meministine me ante diem XII Kalen-
das Novembres dicere in senatu fore in armis certo
die, qui dies futurus esset ante diem VI Kal. Novembres,
C. Manlium, audaciae satellitem atque administrum tuae?
Num me fefellit, Catilina, non modo res tanta, tam atrox
tamque incredibilis, verum, id, quod multo magis est
admirandum, dies? Dixi ego idem in senatu caedem
te optimatum contulisse in ante diem V Kalendas
Novembres, tum cum multi principes civitatis Roma non
tam sui conservandi quam tuorum consiliorum reprimendorum
causa profugerunt. Num infitiri potes te
illo ipso die meis praesidiis, mea diligentia circumclusum
commovere te contra rem publicam non potuisse, cum tu
discessu ceterorum, nostra tamen, qui remansissemus,
caede te contentum esse dicebas? Quid? cum te
Praeneste Kalendis ipsis Novembribus occupaturum

nocturno impetu esse confideres, sensistine illam coloniam meo iussu meis praesidiis, custodiis, vigiliis esse munitam? Nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas, quod non ego non modo audiam, sed etiam videam planeque sentiam. IV. Recognosce tandem meum noctem illam superiorem; iam intelleges multo me vigilare acrius ad salutem quam te ad perniciem rei publicae. Dico te priore nocte venisse inter falcarios (non agam obscure) in M. Laecae domum; convenisse eodem complures eiusdem amentiae scelerisque socios. Num negare audes? quid taces? Convincam, si negas. Video enim esse hic in senatu quosdam, qui tecum una fuerunt.

9 O di immortales! ubinam gentium sumus? in qua urbe vivimus? quam rem publicam habemus? Hic, hic sunt in nostro numero, patres conscripti, in hoc orbis terrae sanctissimo, gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro omnium interitu, qui de huius urbis atque adeo de orbis terrarum exitio cogitent! Hos ego video consul et de re publica sententiam rogo et, quos ferro trucidari oportebat, eos nondum voce volnero! Fuisti igitur apud Laecam illa nocte, Catilina, distribuisti partes Italiae, statuisti, quo quemque proficisci placeret, delegisti, quos Romae relinqueres, quos tecum educeres, discripsisti, urbis partes ad incendia, confirmasti te ipsum iam esse exiturum, dixisti paulum tibi esse etiam nunc morae, quod ego viverem. Reperti sunt duo equites Romani, qui te ista cura liberarent et sese illa ipsa nocte paulo ante lucem

10 me in meo lectulo interiecturos esse pollicerentur. Haec ego omnia, vixdum etiam coetu vestro dimisso, comperi; domum meam maioribus praesidiis munivi atque firmavi, exclusi eos, quos tu ad me salutatum mane miseras, cum illi ipsi venissent, quos ego iam multis ac summis viris ad me id temporis venturos esse praedixeram.

V. Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, perge, quo coepisti, egredere aliquando ex urbe; patent portae; proficiscere. Nimum diu te imperatorem tua illa Manliana castra desiderant. Educ tecum etiam omnes tuos, si minus, 5 quam plurimos; purga urbem. Magno me metu liberabis, dum modo inter me atque te murus intersit. Nobiscum versari iam diutius non potes; non feram, non patiar, non sinam. Magna dis immortalibus habenda 11 est atque huic ipsi Iovi Statori, antiquissimo custodi huius urbis, gratia, quod hanc tam taetram, tam horribilem tamque infestam rei publicae pestem totiens iam effuginus. Non est saepius in uno homine summa salus 10 periclitanda rei publicae. Quamdiu mihi consuli designato, Catilina, insidiatus es, non publico me praesidio, sed privata diligentia defendi. Cum proximis comitiis 15 consularibus me consulem in campo et competitores tuos interficere voluisti, compressi conatus tuos nefarios amicorum praesidio et copiis, nullo tumultu publice concitato; denique, quotienscumque me petisti, per me 20 tibi obstiti, quamquam videbam perniciem meam cum magna calamitate rei publicae esse coniunctam. Nunc 12 iam aperte rem publicam universam petis, templa deorum immortalium, tecta urbis, vitam omnium civium, Italiam totam ad exitium et vastitatem vocas. Quare, quoniam 25 id, quod est primum, et quod huius imperii disciplinaeque maiorum proprium est, facere nondum audeo, faciam id, quod est ad severitatem lenius et ad communem salutem utilius. Nam si te interfici iussero, residebit in re publica reliqua coniuratorum manus; 30 sin tu, quod te iam dudum hortor, exieris, exhaurietur ex urbe tuorum conitum magna et perniciosa sentina rei publicae. Quid est, Catilina? num dubitas id me 13 imperante facere, quod iam tua sponte faciebas? Exire

ex urbe iubet consul hostem. Interrogas me, num in exilium; non iubeo, sed si me consulis, suadeo. VI. Quid est enim, Catilina, quod te iam in hac urbe delectare possit? in qua nemo est extra istam coniurationem perditorum hominum, qui te non metuat, nemo, 5 qui non oderit. Quae nota domesticae turpitudinis non inusta vitae tuae est? quod privatarum rerum dedecus non haeret in fama? quae libido ab oculis, quod facinus a manibus umquam tuis, quod flagitium a toto corpore afuit? cui tu adolescentulo, quem corruptelarum illecebris 10 inretisses, non aut ad audaciam ferrum aut ad libidinem

14 facem praetulisti? Quid vero? nuper cum morte superioris uxoris novis nuptiis domum vacuefecisses, nonne etiam alio incredibili scelere hoc scelus cumulasti? quod ego praetermitto et facile patior sileri, ne in hac civitate 15 tanti facinoris immanitas aut exstitisse aut non vindicata esse videatur. Praetermitto ruinas fortunarum tuarum, quas omnes impendere tibi proximis Idibus senties; ad illa venio, quae non ad privatam ignominiam vitiorum tuorum, non ad domesticam tuam difficultatem ac turpi- 20 tudinem, sed ad summam rem publicam atque ad omnium

15 nostrum vitam salutemque pertinent. Potestne tibi haec lux, Catilina, aut huius caeli spiritus esse iucundus, cum scias esse horum neminem, qui nesciat te pridie Kalendas Ianuarias Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetisse in comitio 25 cum telo? manum consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa paravisse? sceleri ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem tuum, sed fortunam populi Romani obstitisse? Ac iam illa omitto (neque enim sunt aut obscura aut non multa commissa postea); quotiens 30 tu me designatum, quotiens consulem interficere conatus es! quot ego tuas petitiones ita coniectas, ut vitari posse non viderentur, parva quadam declinatione et, ut aiunt,

corpore effugi! Nihil agis, nihil adsequeris, [nihil moliris] neque tamen conari ac velle desistis. Quotiens tibi iam 16 extorta est ista sica de manibus! quotiens excidit casu aliquo et elapsa est! quae quidem quibus abs te initiata 5 sacris ac devota est, nescio, quod eam necesse putas esse in consulis corpore defigere. VII. Nunc vero quae tua est ista vita? Sic enim iam tecum loquar, non ut odio permotus esse videar, quo debeo, sed ut misericordia, quae tibi nulla debetur. Venisti paulo ante in senatum. 10 Quis te ex hac tanta frequentia totque tuis amicis ac necessariis salutavit? Si hoc post hominum memoriam contigit nemini, vocis expectas contumeliam, cum sis gravissimo iudicio taciturnitatis oppressus? Quid, quod adventu tuo ista subsellia vacuefacta sunt, quod omnes 15 consulares, qui tibi persaepe ad caedem constituti fuerunt, simul atque adsedisti, partem istam subselliorum nudam atque inanem reliquerunt, quo tandem animo hoc tibi ferendum putas? Servi mehercule mei si me isto 17 pacto metuerent, ut te metuunt omnes cives tui, domum meam relinquendam putarem; tu tibi urbem non arbitraris? et, si me meis civibus iniuria suspectum tam graviter atque offensum viderem, carere me aspectu civium quam infestis omnium oculis conspici mallet; tu cum conscientia scelerum tuorum agnoscas odium 25 omnium iustum et iam diu tibi debitum, dubitas, quorum mentes sensusque volneras, eorum aspectum praesentiamque vitare? Si te parentes timerent atque odissent tui neque eos ulla ratione placare posses, ut opinor, ab eorum oculis aliquo concederes. Nunc te patria, quae 30 communis est parens omnium nostrum, odit ac metuit et iam diu nihil te iudicat nisi de parricidio suo cogitare; huius tu neque auctoritatem verebere nec iudicium sequere nec vim pertimesces? Quae, tecum, Catilina, 18

sic agit et quōdam modo tacita loquitur: 'Nullum iam aliquot annis facinus exstitit nisi per te, nullum flagitium sine te; tibi uni multorum civium necesse, tibi vexatio direptioque sociorum impunita fuit ac liberā; tu non solum ad negligendas leges et quaestiones, verum etiam ad evertendas perfringendasque valuisti. Superiora illa, quamquam ferenda non fuerunt, tamen, ut potui, tuli; nunc vero me totam esse in metu propter unum te, quicquid increpuerit, Catilinam timeri, nullum videri contra me consilium iniri posse, quod a tuo scelere abhorreat, non est ferendum. Quam ob rem discede atque hunc mihi timorem oripe; si est verus, ne opprimar, sin falsus, ut tandem aliquando timere desinam.'

- 19 VIII. Haec si tecum, ita ut dixi, patria loquatur, nonne impetrare debeat, etiam si vim adhibere non possit? Quid, quod tu te ipse in custodiam dedisti, quod vitandae suspitionis causa ad M. Lepidum te habitare velle dixisti? A quo non receptus etiam ad me venire ausus es atque, ut domi meae te adseruarem, rogasti. Cum a me quoque id responsum tulisses, me nullo modo posse isdem parietibus tuto esse tecum, qui magno in periculo essem, quod isdem moenibus containeremur, ad Q. Metellum praetorem venisti. A quo repudiatus ad socerum tuum, virum optimum, M. Metellum, demigrasti; quem tu videlicet et ad custodiendum diligentissimum et ad suspicandum sagacissimum et ad vindicandum fortissimum fore putasti. Sed quam longe videtur a carcere atque a vinculis abesse debere, qui se ipse iam dignum custodia iudicavit!

- 20 Quae cum ita sint, Catilina, dubitas, si emori aequo animo non potes, abire in aliquas terras et vitam istam multis suppliciis iustis debitisque ereptam fugae solitudinique mandare?

‘Refer,’ inquis, ‘ad senatum’; id enim postulas et, si hic ordo [sibi] placere decreverit te ire in exsilium, obtemperaturum te esse dicis. Non referam, id quod abhorret a meis moribus, et tamen faciam, ut intellegas, quid hi de te sentiant. Egredere ex urbe, Catilina, libera rem publicam metu, in exsilium, si hanc vocem exspectas, proficiscere. Quid est, Catilina? ecquid attendis, ecquid animadvertis horum silentium? Patiuntur, tacent. Quid exspectas auctoritatem loquentium, quorum voluntatem tacitorum perspicis? At si hoc idem huic 21 adulescenti optimo, P. Sestio, si fortissimo viro, M. Marcello, dixissem, iam mihi consuli hoc ipso in templo senatus iure optimo vim et manus intulisset. De te autem, Catilina, cum quiescunt, probant, cum patiuntur, decernunt, cum tacent, clamant, neque hi solum, quorum tibi auctoritas est videlicet cara, vita vilissima, sed etiam illi equites Romani, honestissimi atque optimi viri, ceterique fortissimi cives, qui circumstant senatum, quorum tu et frequentiam videre et studia perspicere et voces paulo 20 ante exaudire potuisti. Quorum ego vix abs te iam diu manus ac tela contineo, eosdem facile adducam, ut te haec, quae vastare iam pridem studes, relinquentem usque ad portas prosequantur.

IX. Quamquam quid loquor? te ut ulla res frangat? 22 tu ut umquam te corrigas? tu ut ullam fugam meditare? tu ut ullum exsilium cogites? Utinam tibi istam mentem di immortales duint! tametsi video, si mea voce perterritus ire in exsilium animum induxeris, quanta tempestas invidiae nobis, si minus in praesens tempus recenti 30 memoria scelerum tuorum, at in posteritatem impendeat. Sed est tanti, dum modo ista sit privata calamitas et a rei publicae periculis seiungatur. Sed tu ut vitiis tuis commovere, ut legum poenas pertimescas, ut temporibus

- rei publicae cēdas, non est postulandum. Neque enim is es, Catilīna, ut te aut pudor umquam a turpitudine aut
 23 metus a periculo aut ratio a fūrore revocarit. Quam ob rem, ut saepe iam dixi, proficiscere ac, si mihi inimico, ut praedicās, tuo conflare vis invidiam, recta perge in exsilium; vix feram sermones hominum, si id feceris, vix molem istius invidiae, si in exsilium iussu consulis ieris, sustinebo. Sin autem servire meae laudi et gloriae mavis, egredere cum impotuna sceleratorum manu, confer te ad Manlium, concita perditos cives, secerne te a bonis, infer
 10 patriae bellum, exsulta impio latrocinio, ut a me non eiectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos isse videaris.
- 24 Quamquam quid ego te invitem, a quo iam sciam esse praemissos, qui tibi ad Forum Aurelium praestolarentur armati? cui iam sciam pactam et constitutam cum Manlio
 15 diem? a quo, etiam aquilam illam argenteam, quam tibi ac tuis omnibus confido perniciosam ac funestam futuram, cui domi tuae sacrarium [scelerum] constitutum fuit, sciam esse praemissam? Tu ut illa carere diutius possis, quam venerari ad caedem proficiscens solebas, a cuius altaribus
 20 saepe istam impiam dexteram ad necem civium transtulisti? X. Ibis tandem aliquando, quo te iam pridem ista tua cupiditas effrenata ac furiosa rapielāt; neque enim tibi haec res adfert dolorem, sed quandam incredibilem voluptatem. Ad hanc te amentiam natura peperit,
 25 voluntas exercuit, fortuna servavit. Numquam tu non modo otium, sed ne bellum quidem nisi nefarium concupisti. Nactus es ex perditis atque ab omni non modo fortuna, verum etiam spe derelictis conflata improborum
 26 manum. Hic tu qua laetitia perfruere! quibus gaudiis
 30 exsultabis! quanta in voluptate bacchābere, cum in tanto numero tuorum neque audies virum bonum quemquam neque videbis! Ad huius vitae studium meditati illi

sunt, qui feruntur, labores tui, iacere humi non solum ad obsidendum stuprum, verum etiam ad facinus obeundum, vigilare non solum insidiantem somno maritorum, verum etiam bonis otiosorum. Habes, ubi ostentes tuam illam
5 praeclaram patientiam famis, frigoris, inopiae rerum omnium, quibus te brevi tempore confectum esse senties. Tantum profeci tum, cum te a consulatu repuli, ut exsul 27
potius temptare quam consul vexare rem publicam posses, atque ut id, quod esset a te scelere susceptum, latro-
10 cinium potius quam bellum nominaretur.

XI. Nunc, ut a me, patres conscripti, quandam prope iustam patriae querimoniam detester ac deprecere, percipite, quaeso, diligenter, quae dicam, et ea penitus
• animis vestris mentibusque mandate. Etenim, si mecum
15 patriae, quae mihi vita mea multo est carior, si cuncta Italia, si omnis res publica sic loquatur: 'M. Tulli, quid agis? Tunc eum, quem esse hostem comperisti, quem
ducem belli futurum vides, quem expectari imperatorem in castris hostium sentis, auctorem sceleris, principem
20 coniurationis, evocatorem servorum et civium perditorum, exire patiere, ut abs te non emissus ex urbe, sed immissus in urbem esse videatur? Nonne hunc in vincla duci, non ad mortem rapi, non summo supplicio mactari imperabis? Quid tandem te impedit? mosne maiorum? At persaepe 28
25 etiam privati in hac re publica perniciosos cives morte multarunt. An leges, quae de civium Romanorum supplicio rogatae sunt? At numquam in hac urbe, qui a re publica defecerunt, civium iura tenuerunt. An invidiam posteritatis times? Praeclaram vero populo Romano
30 refers gratiam, qui te, hominem per te cognitum, nulla commendatione maiorum tam mature ad summum imperium per omnes honorum gradus extulit, si propter invidiae aut alicuius periculi metum salutem civium

29 tuorum negligis. Sed, si quis est invidiae metus, non est vehementius severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia quam inertiae ac nequitiae pertimescenda. An, cum bello vastabitur Italia, vexabuntur urbes, tecta ardebunt, tum te non existimas invidiae incendio conflagraturum? 5 XII. His ego sanctissimis rei publicae vocibus et eorum hominum, qui hoc idem sentiunt, mentibus pauca respondebo. Ego si hoc optimum factu iudicarem, patres conscripti, Catilinam morte multari, unius usum horae gladiatorum isti ad vivendum non dedissem. Etenim, si 10 summi viri et clarissimi vires Saturnini et Gracchorum et Flacci et superiorum complurium sanguine non modo se non contaminarunt, sed etiam honestarunt, certe verendum mihi non erat, ne quid hoc patricida civium interfecto invidiae mihi in posteritatem redundaret. 15 Quodsi ea mihi maxime impenderet, tamen hoc animo fui semper, ut invidiam virtute partam gloriam, non 30 invidiam putarem. Quamquam non nulli sunt in hoc ordine, qui aut ea, quae imminet, non videant aut ea, quae vident, dissimulant; qui spem Catilinae mollibus 20 sententiis aluerunt coniurationemque nascentem non credendo corroboraverunt; quorum auctoritate multi non solum improbi, verum etiam imperiti, si in hunc animadvertissem, crudeliter et regie factum esse dicerent. Nunc intellego, si iste, quo intendit, in Manliana castra 25 pervenerit, neminem tam stultum fore, qui non videat coniurationem esse factam, neminem tam improbum, qui non fateatur. Hoc autem uno interfecto intellego hanc rei publicae pestem paulisper reprimi, non in perpetuum comprimi posse. Quodsi se eiecerit secumque suos 30 eduxerit et eodem ceteros undique collectos naufragos adgregarit, exstinguetur atque delebitur non modo haec tam adulta rei publicae pestis, verum etiam stirps ac

semen malorum omnium. XIII. Etenim iam diu, 31
 patres conscripti, in his periculis coniurationis insidiisque
 versamur, sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac
 veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatus
 5 tempus erupit. Quodsi ex tanto latrocinio iste unus
 tollitur, videbimur fortasse ad breve quoddam tempus
 cura et metu esse relevati, periculum autem residebit et
 erit inclusum penitus in venis atque in visceribus rei
 publicae. Ut saepe homines aegri morbo gravi cum
 10 aestu febrique iactantur, si aquam gelidam biberunt,
 primo relevari videntur, deinde multo gravius vehe-
 mentiusque adductantur, sic hic morbus, qui est in re
 publica, relevatus istius poena vehementius reliquis vivis
 ingravescet. Quare secernant improbi, [secernant se a 32
 15 bonis,] unum in locum congregentur, muro denique, quod
 saepe iam dixi, secernantur a nobis; desinant insidiari
 domi suae consuli, circumstare tribunal praetoris urbani,
 obsidere cum gladiis curiam, malleolos et faces ad in-
 flammandam urbem comparare; sit denique inscriptum
 20 in fronte unius cuiusque, quid de re publica sentiat.
 Polliceor hoc vobis, patres conscripti, tantam in nobis
 consulibus fore diligentiam, tantam in vobis auctorita-
 tem, tantam in equitibus Romanis virtutem, tantam in
 omnibus bonis consensionem, ut Catilinae protectione
 25 omnia patefacta, illustrata, oppressa, vindicata esse vi-
 deatis.

Hisce ominibus, Catilina, cum summa rei publicae 33
 salute, cum tua peste ac perniciie cuoque eorum exitio,
 qui se tecum omni scelere parricidioque iunxerunt, pro-
 30 ficiscere ad impium bellum ac nefarium. Tu, Iuppiter,
 qui isdem quibus haec urbs auspiciis a Romulo es con-
 stitutus, quem Statorem huius urbis atque imperii vere
 nominamus, hunc et huius socios a tuis [aribus] ceterisque

templis, a tectis urb̄is ac moenibus, a vita fortunisque
civium omnium arcebis et homines bonorum inimicos,
hostes patriae, latrones Italiae scelerum foedere inter se
ac nefaria societate coniunctos aeternis suppliciis vivos
mortuosque ma^gtabis.

ORATIO IN CATILINAM SECUNDA

HABITA. AD POPULUM.

I. TANDEM aliquando, Quirites, Catilinam furentem audaciâ, scelus anhelantem, pestem patriae nefarie molientem, vobis atque huic urbi ferro flammaque minitantem ex urbe vel eiecimus vel emisimus vel ipsum egredientem verbis prosecuti sumus. Abijt, excessit, evasit, erupit. Nulla iam perniciēs a monstro illo atque prodigio moenibus ipsis intra moenia comparabitur. Atque hunc quidem unum huius belli domestici ducem sine controversia vicimus. Non enim iam inter latera nostra sica illa versabitur, non in campo, non in foro, non in curia, non denique intra domesticos parietes pertimescemus. Loco ille motus est, cum est ex urbe depulsus. Palam iam cum hoste nullo impediēte bellum iustum geremus. Sine dubio perdidimus hominem magnificeque vicimus, cum illum ex occultis insidiis in apertum latrocinium coniecimus. Quod vero non cruentum mucronem, ut voluit, extulit, quod vivis nobis egressus est, quod ei ferrum e manibus extorsimus, quod incolumes cives, quod stantem urbem reliquit, quanto tandem illum maerore esse afflictum et profligatum putatis? Iacet ille nunc prostratus, Quirites, et se perculsum atque abiectum esse sentit et retorquet oculos profecto saepe ad hanc urbem, quam e suis faucibus

creptam esse luget; quae quidem mihi laetari videtur, quod tantam pestem evomuerit forasque proiecerit.

- 3 II. Ac si quis est talis, quales esse omnes oportebat, qui in hoc ipso, in quo exsultat et triumphat oratio mea, me vehementer accuset, quod tam capitalis hostem 5 non comprehenderim potius quam emiserim, non est ista mea culpa, Quirites, sed temporum. Interfectura esse L. Catilinam et gravissimo supplicio adfectum iam pridem oportebat, idque a me et mos maiorum et huius imperii severitas et res publica postulabat. Sed quam multos 10 fuisse putatis, qui, quae ego deferrem, non crederent? quam multos, qui etiam defenderent? Ac, si illo sublato depelli a vobis omne periculum iudicarem, iam pridem ego L. Catilinam non modo invidiae meae, 4 verum etiam vitae periculo sustulissem. Sed cum vi- 15 derem, ne vobis quidem omnibus re etiam tum probata, si illum, ut erat meritis, morte multassem, fore ut eius socios invidia oppressus persequi non possem, rem huc deduxi, ut tum palam pugnare possetis, cum hostem aperte videretis. Quem quidem ego hostem, Quirites, 20 quam vehementer foris esse timendum putem, licet hinc intellegatis, quod etiam illud moleste fero, quod ex urbe parum comitatus exierit. Utinam ille omnes secum suas copias eduxisset! Tongilium mihi eduxit, quem amare in praetexta coeperat, Publicium et Minucium, quorum 25 aes alienum contractum in popina nullum rei publicae motum adferre poterat; reliquit quos viros, quanto aere 5 alieno, quam valetres, quam nobiles! III. Itaque ego illum exercitum prae Gallicanis legionibus et hoc dilectu, quem in agro Piceno et Gallico Q. Metellus habuit, et his 30 copiis, quae a nobis cotidie comparantur, magno opere contemno collectum ex senibus desperatis, ex agresti luxuria, ex rusticis decoctoribus, ex iis, qui vadimonia

deserere quam illum exercitum maluerunt; quibus ego non modo si aciem exercitus nostri, verum etiam si edictum praetoris ostendero, concident. Hos, quos video volitare in foro, quos stare ad curiam, quos etiam in
 5 senatum venire, qui nitent unguentis, qui fulgent purpura, malletm secum [suos milites] eduxisset; qui si hic permanent, mementote non tam exercitum illum esse nobis quam hos, qui exercitum deseruerunt, pertimescendos. Atque hoc etiam sunt timendi magis, quod,
 10 quid cogitent, me scire sentiunt neque tamen permovetur. Video, cui sit Apulia attributa, quis habeat
 Etruriam, quis agrum Picenum, quis Gallicum, quis sibi has urbanas insidias caedis atque incendiorum depoposcrit. Omnia superioris noctis consilia ad me perlata
 15 esse sentiunt; patefeci in senatu hesterno die; Catilina ipse pertimuit, protugit; hi quid exspectant? Ne illi vehementer errant, si illam meam pristinam lenitatem perpetuam sperant futuram.

IV. Quod exspectavi, iam sum adsecutus, ut vos
 20 omnes factam esse aperte coniurationem contra rem publicam videretis; nisi vero si quis est, qui Catilinae similes cum Catilina sentire non putet. Non est iam lenitati locus; severitatem res ipsa flagitat. Unum etiam nunc concedam: exeant, proficiscantur, ne patiantur desiderio
 25 sui Catilinam miserum tabescere. Demonstrabo iter: Aurelia via profectus est; si accelerare volent, ad vesperam consequentur. O fortunatam rem publicam, si quidem
 hanc sentinam urbis eiecerit! Uno nehercule Catilina exhausto levata mihi et recreata res publica videtur.
 30 Quid enim mali aut sceleris fingi aut cogitari potest, quod non ille conceperit? quis tota Italia veneficus, quis gladiator, quis latro, quis sicarius, quis parricida, quis testamntorum subiecto, quis circumscriptor, quis ganeo,

quis nepos, quis adulter, quae mulier infamis, quis corruptor iuventutis, quis corruptus, quis perditus inveniri potest, qui se cum Catilina non familiarissime vixisse fateatur? quae caedes per hosce annos sine illo
 8 facta est, quod nefarium stuprum non per illum? Iam vero quae tanta umquam in ullo iuventutis illecebra fuit, quanta in illo? qui alios ipse amabat turpissime, aliorum amoris flagitiosissime serviebat, aliis fructum libidinum, aliis mortem parentum non modo impellendo, verum etiam adiuvando pollicebatur. Nunc vero quam subito
 10 non solum ex urbe, verum etiam ex agris ingentem numerum perditorum hominum collegerat! Nemo non modo Romae, sed ullo in angulo totius Italiae oppressus aere alieno fuit, quem non ad hoc incredibile sceleris
 9 foedus adsciverit. V. Atque ut eius diversa studia in
 15 dissimili ratione perspicere possitis, nemo est in ludo gladiatorio paulo ad facinus audacior, qui se non intimum Catilinae [esse fateatur], nemo in scaena levior et nequior, qui se non eiusdem prope socialem fuisse commemoret. Atque idem tamen stuprorum et scelerum
 20 exercitatione adsuefactus frigore et fame et siti et vigiliis perferendis fortis ab istis praedicabatur, cum industriae subsidia atque instrumenta virtutis in libidine audaciaque
 10 consumeret. Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui comites, si ex urbe exierint desperatorum hominum flagitiosi greges,
 25 o nos beatos, o rem publicam fortunatam, o praeclaram laudem consulatus mei! Non enim iam sunt mediocres hominum libidines, non humanae et tolerandae audaciae; nihil cogitant nisi caedem, nisi incendia, nisi rapinas. Patrimonia sua profuderunt, fortunas suas obligaverunt;
 30 res eos iam pridem deseruit, fides nuper deficere coepit; eadem tamen illa, quae erat in abundantia, libido permanet. Quodsi in vino et alea commissiones solum

et scorta quaerent, essent illi quidem desperandi, sed tamen essent ferendi; hoc vero quis ferre possit, inertes homines fortissimis viris insidiari, stultissimos prudentissimis, ebriosos sobriis, dormientes vigilantibus? qui mihi accubantes in conviviis complexi mulieres impudicas vino languidi, conferti cibo, sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti, debilitati stupris eructant sermonibus suis, eadem bonorum atque urbis incendia. Quibus ego confido 11 impendere fatum aliquod, et poenam iam diu improbitati, nequitiae, sceleri, libidini debitam aut instare iam plane aut certe adpropinquare? Quos si meus consulatus, quoniam sanare non potest, sustulerit, non breve nescio quod tempus, sed multa saecula propagarit rei publicae. Nulla est enim natio, quam pertimescamus, 15 nullus rex, qui bellum populo Romano facere possit. Omnia sunt externa unius virtute terra marique pacata; domesticum bellum manet, intus insidiae sunt, intus inclusum periculum est, intus est hostis. Cum luxuria nobis, cum amentia, cum scelere certandum est. Hunc ego me bello ducem profiteor, Quirites; suscipio inimicitias hominum perditorum; quae sanari poterunt, quacumque ratione sanabo; quae resecanda erunt, non patiar ad perniciem civitatis manere. Proinde aut exeant aut quiescant aut, si et in urbe et in eadem mente 25 permanent, ea, quae merentur, expectent.

VI. At etiam sunt, qui dicant, Quirites, a me 22 eiectionem in exilium esse Catilinam. Quod ego si verbo adsequi possem, istos ipsos eicerem, qui haec loquuntur. Homo enim videlicet timidus aut etiam permodestus vocem consulis ferre non potuit; simul atque ire in exilium iussus est, paruit, ivit. Hesterno die, Quirites, cum domi meae paene interfectus essem, senatum in aedem Iovis Statoris convocavi, rem omnem ad patres

conscriptos detuli. Quo cum Catilina venisset, quis eum senator appellavit, quis salutavit, quis denique ita aspexit ut perditum civem ac non potius ut importunissimum hostem? Quin etiam principes eius ordinis partem illam subseñiorum, ad quam ille accesserat, nudam atque
13 inanem reliquerunt. Hic ego vehemens ille consul, qui verbo cives in exsilium eicio; quaesivi a Catilina, in nocturno conventu apud M. Laecam fuisset neche. Cum ille homo audacissimus conscientia convictus primo reticisset, pateferi cetera; quid ea nocte egisset, quid in
10 proximam constituisset, quem ad modum esset ei ratio totius belli descripta, edocui. "Cum haesitaret, cum teneretur, quaesivi, quid dubitaret proficisci eo, quo iam pridem pararet, cum arma, cum secures, cum fasces, cum tubas, cum signa militaria, cum aquilam illam argenteam,
15 cui ille etiam sacrarium [scelerum] domi suae fecerat,
14 scirem esse praemissam. In exsilium eiciebam, quem iam ingressum esse in bellum videbam? Etenim, credo, Manlius iste centurio, qui in agro Faesulano castra posuit, bellum populo Romano suo nomine indixit, et illa castra
20 nunc non Catilinam ducem expectant, et ille eiectus in exsilium se Massiliam, ut aiunt, non in haec castra conferet.

" VII. O condicionem miseram non modo administrandae, verum etiam conservandae rei publicae! Nunc
25 si L. Catilina consiliis, laboribus, periculis meis circumclusus ac debilitatus subito pertimuerit, sententiam mutaverit, deseruerit suos, consilium belli faciendi abiecerit et ex hoc cursu sceleris ac belli iter ad fugam atque in
exsilium converterit, non ille a me spoliatus armis audaciae, non obstupefactus ac perterritus mea diligentia, non
30 de spe conatuque depulsus, sed indefinatus innocens in exsilium eiectus a consule vi et minis, esse dicetur; et

crunt, qui illum, si hoc fecerit, non improbum, sed miserum, me non diligentissimum consulem, sed crudelissimum tyrannum existimari velint! Est mihi tanti, 15 Quirites, huius invidiae falsae atque iniquae tempestatem subire, dum modo a vobis huius horribilis belli ac nefarii periculum depellatur. Dicatur sane eiectus esse a me, dum modo eat in exilium. Sed, mihi credite, non est iturus. Numquam ego ab dis immortalibus optabo, Quirites, invidiae meae levandae causa, ut L. Catilinam 10 ducere exercitum hostium atque in armis volitare audiat, sed triduo tamen audiet; multoque magis illud timeo, ne mihi sit invidiosum aliquando, quod illum emiserim potius quam quod eiecerim. Sed cum sint homines, qui illum, cum profectus sit, eiectum esse dicant, idem, si interfectus esset, quid dicerent? Quam- 15 quam isti, qui Catilinam Massiliam ire dicitant, non tam hoc queruntur quam verentur. Nemo est istorum, tam misericors, qui illum non ad Manlium quam ad Massilienses ire malit. Ille autem, si mehercule hoc, 20 quod agit, numquam antea cogitasset, tamen latrocinantem se interfici mallet quam exsulem vivere. Nunc vero, cum ei nihil adhuc praeter ipsius voluntatem cogitationemque acciderit, nisi quod vivis nobis Roma profectus est, optemus potius, ut eat in exilium, quam queramur.

25 VIII. Sed cur tam diu de uno hoste loquimur, et 17 de eo hoste, qui iam fatetur se esse hostem, et quem, quia, quod semper volui, murus interest, non timeo; de his, qui dissimulant, qui Romae remanent, qui nobiscum sunt, nihil dicimus? Quos quidem ego, si ullo modo 30 fieri possit, non tam ulcisci studeo quam sanare sibi ipsos, placare rei publicae, neque, id quare fieri non possit, si me audire volent, intellego. Exponam enim vobis, Quirites, ex quibus generibus hominum istae

copiae comparantur; deinde singulis medicinam consilii
 18 atque orationis meae, si quam potero, adferam. Unum
 genus est eorum, qui magno in aere alieno maiores etiam
 possessiones habent, quarum amore adducti dissolvi nullo
 modo possunt. Horum hominum species est honestis-
 5 sima (sunt enim locupletes), voluntas vero et causa
 impudentissima. Tu agris, tu aedificiis, tu argento, tu
 familia, tu rebus omnibus ornatus et copiosus sis et dubites
 de possessione detrahere, acquirere ad fidem? Quid enim
 exspectas? bellum? Quid ergo? in vastatione omnium 10
 tuas possessiones sacrosanctas futuras putas? An tabu-
 las novas? Errant, qui istas a Catilina exspectant; meo
 beneficio tabulae novae proferentur, verum auctionariae;
 neque enim isti, qui possessiones habent, alia ratione
 ulla salvi esse possunt. Quod si maturius facere volu- 15
 issent neque, id quod stultissimum est, certare cum
 usuris fructibus praediorum, et locupletioribus his et
 melioribus civibus uteremur. Sed hosce homines mini-
 me putō pertimescendos, quod aut deduci de sententia
 possunt aut, si permanebunt, magis mihi videntur vota 20
 19 facturi contra rem publicam quam arma laturi. IX. Alte-
 rum genus est eorum, qui quanquam premuntur aere
 alieno, dominationem tamen exspectant, rerum potiri
 velunt, honores, quos quicta re publica desperant, per-
 turbata se consequi posse arbitrantur. Quibus hoc 25
 praecipendum videtur, unum scilicet et idem quod reli-
 quis omnibus, ut desperent se id, quod conantur, con-
 sequi posse; primum omnium me ipsum vigilare, adesse,
 providere rei publicae; deinde magnos animos esse in
 bonis viris, magnam concordiam, maximam adesse multi- 30
 tudinem, magnas praeterea militum copias; deos deni-
 que immortales huic invicto populo, clarissimo imperio,
 pulcherrimae urbi contra tantam vim sceleris praesentes

auxilium esse laturos. Quodsi iam sint id, quod summo
furōre cupiunt, adepti, num illi in cinere urbis et in
sanguine civium, quae mente conscelerata ac nefaria
concupiverunt, consules se aut dictatores aut etiam reges
5 sperant futuros? Non vident id se cupere, quod si adepti
sint, fugitivo alicui aut gladiatori concedi sit necesse.
Tertium genus est aetate iam adfectum, sed tamen ex- 20
ercitatione robustum; quo ex genere iste est Manlius,
cui nunc Catilina succedit. Hi sunt homines ex iis
10 coloniis, quas Sulla constituit; quas ego universas civium
esse optimorum et fortissimorum virorum sentio, sed
tamen ii sunt coloni, qui se in insperatis ac repentinis
pecuniis sumptuosius insolentiusque iactarunt. Hi dum
aedificant tamquam beati, dum praediis lectis, familiis
15 magnis, conviviis apparatis delectantur, in tantum aes
alienum inciderunt, ut, si salvi esse velint, Sulla sit eis
ab inferis excitandus; qui etiam non nullos agrēstes
homines tenues atque egentes in eandem illam spem
rapinarum veterum impulerunt. Quos ego utrosque in
20 eodem genere praedatorum direptorumque pono, sed eos
hoc moneo, desinant furere ac proscriptiones et dicta-
turas cogitare. Tantus enim illorum temporum dolor
inustus est civitati, ut iam ista non modo homines,
sed ne pecudes quidem mihi passurae esse videantur.

25 X. Quartum genus est sane varium et mixtum et turbu- 21
lentum; qui iam pridem premuntur, qui numquam emer-
gunt, qui partim inertia, partim male gerendo negotio,
partim etiam sumptibus in vetere aere alieno vacillant,
qui vadimoniis, iudiciis, proscriptione bonorum defati-
30 gati permulti et ex urbe et ex agris se in illa castra
conferre dicuntur. Hosce ego non tam milites acres
quam infitiores lentos esse arbitror. Qui homines quam
primum, si stare non possunt, corruant, sed ita, ut non

- modo civitas, sed ne vicini quidem proximi sentiant. Nam illud non intellego, quam ob rem, si vivere honeste non possunt, perire turpiter velint, aut cur minore dolore perituros se cum multis, quam si soli pereant, arbitrentur. Quia genus est parricidarum, sitariorum, denique omnium facinorosorum. Quos ego a Catilina non revoco; nam neque ab eo divelli possunt et pereant sane in latrocinio, quoniam sunt ita multi, ut eos carcer capere non possit. Postremum autem genus est non solum numero, verum etiam genere ipso atque vita, quod proprium Catilinae est, de eius dilectu, immo vero de complexu eius ac sinu: quos pexo capillo nitidos aut imberbes aut bene barbatos videtis, manicatis et talaribus tunicis, velis amictos, non togis; quorum omnis industria vitae et vigilandi labor in antelucanis cenis expromitur.
- 23 In his gregibus omnes aleatores, omnes adulteri, omnes impuri impudique versantur. Hi pueri tam lepidi ac delicati non solum amare et amari neque saltare et cantare, sed etiam sicas vibrare et spargere venena didicerunt. Qui nisi exeunt, nisi pereunt, etiamsi Catilina perierit, scitote hoc in re publica seminarium Catilinarum futurum. Verum tamen quid sibi isti miseri volunt? num suas secum mulierculas sunt, in castra ducturi? Quem ad modum autem illis carere poterunt, his praesertim iam noctibus? Quo autem pacto illi Appenninum atque illas pruinas ac nives perferent? nisi idcirco se facilius hiemem toleraturos putant, quod nudi in convivii saltare didicerunt.
- 24 XI. O bellum magno opere pertimescendum, cum hanc sit habiturus Catilina scortorum cohortem praetoriam! Instruite nunc, Quirites, contra has tam praeclaras Catilinae copias vestra praesidia vestrosque exercitus. Et primum gladiatori illi confecto et saucio

consules imperatoresque vestros opponite; deinde contra illam naufragorum eiectam ac debilitatam manum florem totius Italiae ac robur educite. Iam vero urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum respondebunt Catilinae tumulis silvestribus. Neque ego ceteras copias, ornamenta, praesidia vestra cum illius latronis inopia atque egestate conferre debeo. Sed si omissis his rebus, quibus nos 25 suppeditamur, eget ille, senatu, equitibus Romanis, urbe, aerario, vectigalibus, cuncta Italia, provinciis omnibus, 10 exteris nationibus, si his rebus omissis causas ipsas, quae inter se configunt, contendere velimus, ex eo ipso, quam valde illi iaceant, intellegere possumus. Ex hac enim parte pudor pugnat, illinc petulantia; hinc pudicitia, illinc stuprum; hinc fides, illinc fraudatio; hinc pietas, 15 illinc scelus; hinc constantia, illinc furor; hinc honestas, illinc turpitudine; hinc continentia, illinc libido; denique aequitas, temperantia, fortitudo, prudentia, virtutes omnes certant cum iniquitate, luxuria, ignavia, temeritate, cum vitiis omnibus; postremo copia cum egestate, bona ratio 20 cum perdita, mens sana cum amentia, bona denique spes cum omnium rerum desperatione configit. In eius modi certamine ac proelio nonne, si hominum studia deficiant, di ipsi immortales cogant ab his praeclarissimis virtutibus tot et tanta vitia superari?

25 XII. Quae cum ita sint, Quirites, vos, quem ad 26 modum iam antea dixi, vestra tecta vigiliis custodiisque defendite; mihi, ut urbi sine vestro motu ac sine ullo tumultu satis esset praesidium, consultum atque provisum est. Coloni omnes municipesque vestri certiores a me 30 facti de hac nocturna excursionem Catilinae facile urbes suas finesque defendent. Gladiatores, quam sibi ille manum certissimam iore putavit, quamquam animo meliorem sunt quam pars patriciorum, potestate tamen

nostra continebuntur. Q. Metellus, quem ego hoc prospiciens in agrum Gallicum Picenumque praemisi, aut opprimeret hominem aut eius omnes motus conatusque prohibebit. Reliquis autem de rebus constituendis, maturandis, agendis iam ad senatum referemus, quem vocari videtis.

- 27 Nunc illos, qui in urbe remanserunt, atque adeo qui contra urbis salutem omniumque vestrum in urbe a Catilina relictis sunt, quamquam sunt hostes, tamen, quia sunt cives, monitos etiam atque etiam volo. Mea lenitas adhuc si cui solutior visa est, hoc exspectavit, ut id, quod latebat, erumperet. Quod reliquum est, iam non possum oblivisci meam hanc esse patriam, me horum esse consulem, mihi aut cum his vivendum aut pro his esse moriendum. Nullus est portis custos, nullus insidiator viae; si qui exire volunt, convivere possum; qui vero se in urbe commoverit, cuius ego non modo factum, sed inceptum ullum conatumve contra patriam deprehendero, sentiet in hac urbe esse consules vigilantes, esse egregios magistratus, esse fortem senatum, esse arma, esse carcerem, quem vindicem nefariorum ac manifestorum scelerum maiores nostri esse voluerunt.

- 28 XIII. Atque haec omnia sic agentur, Quirites, ut maximae res minimo motu, pericula summa nullo tumultu, bellum intestinum ac domesticum post hominum memoriam crudelissimum et maximum me uno togato duce et imperatore sedetur. Quod ego sic administrabo, Quirites, ut, si ullo modo fieri poterit, ne improbus quidem quisquam in hac urbe poenam sui sceleris sufferat. Sed si vis manifestae audaciae, si impendens patriae periculum me necessario de hac animi lenitate deduxerit, illud profecto perficiam, quod in tanto et tam

insidiosō bello vix optandum videtur, ut neque bonus
quisquam intreat paucorumque poena vos omnes salvi
esse possitis. Quae quidem ego neque mea, prudentia 29
neque humanis consiliis fretus polliceor vobis, Quirites,
5 sed multis et non dubiis deorum immortalium significa-
tionibus, quibus ego ducibus in hanc spem sententiamque
sum ingressus; qui iam non procul, ut quondam solebant,
ab externo hoste atque longinquo, sed hic praesentes suo
numine atque auxilio sua templa atque urbis tecta de-
10 fendunt. Quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari, implorare
debetis, ut, quam urbem pulcherrimam florentissimamque
esse voluerunt, hanc omnibus hostium copiis terra mari-
que superatis a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere
defendant.

ORATIO IN CATILINAM TERTIA

HABITA AD POPULUM.

- 1 I. REM publicam, Quirites, vitamque omnium vestrum, bona, fortunas, coniuges liberosque vestros atque hoc domicilium clarissimi imperii, fortunatissimam pulcherrimamque urbem, hodierno die deorum immortalium summo erga vos amore, laboribus, consiliis, periculis
 2 meis e flamma atque ferro ac paene ex faucibus fati ereptam et vobis conservatam ac restitutam videtis. Et si non minus nobis iucundi atque illustres sunt ii dies, quibus conservamur, quam illi, quibus nascimur, quod salutis certa laetitia est, nascendi incerta condicio, et
 3 quod sine sensu nascimur, cum voluptate servamur, profecto, quoniam illum, qui hanc urbem condidit, ad deos immortales benevolentia famaue sustulimus, esse apud vos posterosque vestros in honore debet is, qui eandem hanc urbem conditam amplificatamque servavit. 15 Nam toti urbi, templis, delubris, tectis ac moenibus subiectos prope iam ignes circumdatosque restinximus, idemque gladios in rem publicam dstrictos rettudimus mucronesque eorum a iugulis vestris deiecimus. Quae quoniam in senatu illustrata, patefacta, comperta sunt 20 per me, vobis iam exponam breviter, Quirites, ut, et quanta et quam manifesta et qua ratione investigata et

- comprehensa sint, vos, qui et ignoratis et exspectatis, scire possitis.

Principio ut Catilina paucis ante diebus erupit ex urbe, cum sceleris sui socios, huiusce nefarii belli acerrimos duces, Romae reliquisset, semper vigilavi et providi, Quirites, quem ad modum in tantis et tam absconditis insidiis salvi esse possemus. II. Nam tum, cum ex urbe Catilinam eiciebam (non enim iam vereor huius verbi invidiam, cum illa magis sit timenda, quod vivus exierit), sed tum, cum illum exterminari volebam, aut reliquam coniuratorum turam simul exituram aut eos, qui restitissent, infirmos sine illo ac debiles fore putabam. Atque ego ut vidi, quos maximo furore et scelere esse inflammatos sciebam, eos nobiscum esse et Romae remansisse, in eo omnes dies noctesque consumpsi, ut, quid agerent, quid molirentur, sentirem ac viderem, ut, quoniam auribus vestris propter incredibilem magnitudinem sceleris minorem fidem faceret oratio mea, rem ita comprehenderem, ut tum demum animis salutis vestrae provideretis, cum oculis maleficium ipsum videretis. Itaque, ut comperi legatos Allobrogum belli Transalpini et tumultus Gallici excitandi causa a P. Lentulo esse sollicitatos, eosque in Galliam ad suos cives eodemque itinere cum litteris mandatisque, ad Catilinam esse missos, comitemque iis adiunctum esse T. Volturcium, atque huic esse ad Catilinam datas litteras, facultatem mihi oblatam putavi, ut, quod erat difficillimum, quodque ego semper optabam ab dis immortalibus, ut tota res non solum a me, sed etiam a senatu et a vobis manifeste deprehenderetur. Itaque hesterno die L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum praetores, fortissimos atque amantissimos rei publicae viros, ad me vocavi, rem exposui, quid fieri placeret, ostendi. Illi

autem, qui omnia de re publica praeclara atque egregia sentirent, sine recusatione ac sine ulla mora negotium susceperunt et, cum advesperasceret, occulte ad pontem Mulvium pervenerunt atque ibi in proximis villis ita bipertito fuerunt, ut Tiberis inter eos et pons intersesset. Eodem autem et ipsi sine cuiusquam suspitione multos fortes viros eduxerant, et ego ex praetectura Reatina complures delectos adolescentes, quorum opera utor adsidue in rei publicae praesidio, cum gladiis
6 miseram. Interim tertia fere vigilia exacta cum iam 10 pontem Mulvium magno comitatu legati Allobroges ingredi inciperent unaque, Volturcius, fit in eos impetus; educuntur et ab illis gladii et a nostris. Res praetoribus erat nota solis, ignorabatur a ceteris.
III. Tum, interventu Pomptini atque Flacci pugna, 15 quae erat commissa, sedatur. Litterae, quaecumque erant in eo comitatu, integris signis praetoribus traduntur; ipsi comprehensi ad me, cum iam dilucesceret, deducuntur. Atque horum omnium scelerum improbissimum machinatore, Cimbrum Gabinium, statim ad me 20 nihildum suspicantem vocavi; deinde item accersitus est L. Statilius et post eum C. Cethegus; tardissime autem Lentulus venit, credo quod in litteris dandis praeter
7 consuetudinem proxima nocte vigilarat. Cum summis et clarissimis huius civitatis viris, qui audita re ire- 25 quentes ad me mane convenerant, litteras a me prius aperiri quam ad senatum deferri placeret, ne, si nihil esset inventum, tenere a me tantus tumultus iniectus civitati videretur, negavi me esse facturum ut de periculo publico non ad consilium publicum rem integram de- 30 ferrem. Etenim, Quirites, si ea, quae erant ad me delata, reperta non essent, tamen ego non arbitrabar in tantis rei publicae periculis esse mihi nimiam

diligentiam pertimescendam. Senatum frequentem ce-
 leriter, ut vidistis, coëgi. Atque interea statim admonitu 8
 Allobrogum C. Sulpicium praetorem, fortem virum, misi,
 qui ex aedibus Cethegi, si quid telorum esset, efferret;
 5 ex quibus ille maximum sicarum numerum et gladio-
 rum extulit.

IV. Introduxi Volturcium sine Gallis; fidem publi-
 cam iussu senatus dedi; hortatus sum ut ea quae sciret
 sine timore indicaret. Tum ille dixit, cum vix se ex
 10 magno timore recreasset, a P. Lentulo se habere ad
 Catilinam mandata et litteras, ut servorum praesidio
 uteretur, ut ad urbem quam primum cum exercitu acce-
 deret; id autem eo consilio, ut, cum urbem ex omnibus
 partibus, quem ad modum discriptum distributumque
 15 erat, incendissent caedemque infinitam civium fecissent,
 praesto esset ille, qui et fugientes exciperet et se cum his
 urbanis ducibus coniungeret. Introducti autem Galli ius 9
 iurandum sibi et litteras ab Lentulo, Cethego, Statilio ad
 suam gentem data esse dixerunt, atque ita sibi ab his et
 20 a L. Cassio esse praescriptum, ut equitum in Italiam
 quam primum mitterent; pedestres sibi copias non de-
 futuras. Lentulum autem sibi confirmasse ex fatis Sibyl-
 linis haruspicumque responsis se esse tertium illum
 Cornelium, ad quem regnum huius urbis atque imperium
 25 pervenire esset necesse; Cinnam ante se et Sullam fuisse.
 Eundemque dixisse fatalem hunc annum esse ad inter-
 tum huius urbis atque imperii, qui esset annus decimus
 post virginum absolutionem, post Capitolii autem incen-
 sionem vicesimus. Hanc autem Cethego cum ceteris 10
 30 controversiam fuisse dixerunt, quod Lentulo et aliis
 Saturnalibus caedem fieri atque urbem incendi placeret,
 Cethego nimium id longum videretur. V. Ac ne longum
 sit, Quirites, tabellas proferri iussimus, quae a quoque

dicebantur datae. Primo ostendimus Cethego signum; cognovit. Nos linum incidimus, legimus. Erat scriptum ipsius manu Allobrogum senatui et populo sese, quae eorum legatis confirmasset, facturum esse; oīare, ut item illi iacerent, quae sibi eorum legati recipissent. Tum Cethegus, qui paulo ante aliquid tamen de gladiis ac sicis, quae apud ipsum erant deprehensa, respondisset dixissetque se semper bonorum ieramentorum studio sum fuisse, recitatis litteris debilitatus atque abiectus conscientia repente conticuit. Introductus est Stauius; cognovit et signum et manum suam. Recitatae sunt tabellae in eandem fere sententiam; confessus est. Tum ostendi tabellas Lentulo et quaesivi, cognosceretne signum. Adnuit. 'Est vero,' inquam, 'notum quidem signum, imago avi tui, clarissimi viri, qui amavit unice patriam et cives suos; quae quidem te a tanto scelere etiam muta revocare debuit.' Leguntur eadem ratione ad senatum Allobrogum populumque litterae. Si quid de his rebus dicere vellet, feci potestatem. Atque ille primo quidem negavit; post autem aliquanto, toto iam indicio exposito atque edito, surrexit; quaesivit a Gallis, quid sibi esset cum iis, quam ob rem domum suam venissent, itemque a Volturcio. Qui cum illi breviter constanterque respondissent, per quem ad eum quotiensque venissent, quaesissentque ab eo, nihilne secum esset de fatis Sibyllinis locutus, tum ille subito scelere demens, quanta conscientiae vis esset, ostendit. Nam, cum id posset infitiri, repente praeter opinionem omnium confessus est. Ita eum non modo ingenium illud et dicendi exercitatio, qua semper valuit, sed etiam propter vim sceleris manifesti atque deprehensi impudentia, qua superabat omnes, improbitasque defecit. Volturcius vero subito litteras proferri atque aperiri iubet, quas sibi a

Lentulo ad Catilinam datas esse dicebat. Atque ibi vehēmentissime perturbatus Lentulus tamen et signum et manum suam cognovit. Erant autem sine nomine, sed ita: 'Quis sim, scies ex eo, quem ad te misi. Cura, ut vir sis, et cogita, quem in locum sis progressus. Vide, ecquid tibi iam sit necesse, et cura, ut omnium tibi auxilia adiungas, etiam infimorum.' Gabinius deinde introductus cum primo impudenter respondere coepisset, ad extremum nihil ex iis, quae Galli insimulabant, negavit.

10 Ac mihi quidem, Quirites, cum illa certissima visa sunt 13
argumenta atque indicia sceleris, tabellae, signa, manus, denique unius cuiusque confessio, tum multo certior illa, color, oculi, voltus, taciturnitas. Sic enim obstupuerant, sic terram intuebantur, sic furtim non numquam inter
15 sese aspiciebant, ut non iam ab aliis indicari, sed indicare se ipsi viderentur.

VI. Indicis expositis atque editis, Quirites, senatum consului, de summa re publica quid fieri placeret. Dictae sunt a principibus acerrimae ac fortissimae sententiae, quas senatus sine ulla varietate est secutus. Et quoniam
20 nondum est perscriptum senatus consultum, ex memoria vobis, Quirites, quid senatus censuerit, exponam. Primum mihi gratiae verbis amplissimis aguntur, quod
virtute, consilio, providentia mea res publica maximis
25 periculis sit liberata. Deinde L. Flaccus et C. Pomptinus praetores, quod eorum opera forti fidelique usus essem, merito ac iure laudantur. Atque etiam viro forti, collegae meo, laus impertitur, quod eos, qui huius coniurationis
participes fuissent, a suis et a rei publicae consiliis remo-
30 visset. Atque ita censuerunt, ut P. Lentulus, cum se praetura abdicasset, in custodiam traderetur; itemque
uti C. Cethegus, L. Statilius, P. Gabinius, qui omnes praesentes erant, in custodiam traderentur; atque idem

- hoc decretum est in L. Cassium, qui sibi procurationem incendendae urbis depoposcerat, in M. Ceparium, cui ad sollicitandos pastores Apuliam attributam esse erat indicatum, in P. Furium, qui est ex iis colonis, quos Faesulas L. Sulla deduxit, in Q. Annium Clilonem, qui una cum hoc Furio semper erat in hac Allobrogum sollicitatione versatus, in P. Umbrenum, libertinum hominem, a quo primum Gallos ad Gabinium perductos esse constabat. Atque ea lenitate senatus est usus, Quirites, ut ex tanta coniuratione tantaque hac multitudine domesticorum hostium novem hominum perditissimorum poena re publica conservata reliquorum mentes sari posse arbitraretur. Atque etiam supplicatio dis immortalibus pro singulari eorum merito meo nomine decreta est, quod mihi primum post hanc urbem conditam togato contigit, et his decreta verbis est, 'quod urbem incendiis, caede cives, Italiam bello liberassem.' Quae supplicatio si cum ceteris supplicationibus conferatur, hoc interest, quod ceterae bene gesta, haec una conservata re publica constituta est. Atque illud, quod faciendum primum fuit, factum atque transactum est. Nam P. Lentulus, quamquam patefactis indiciis, confessionibus suis, iudicio senatus non modo praetoris ius, verum etiam civis amiserat, tamen magistratu se abdicavit, ut, quae religio C. Mario, clarissimo viro, non fuerat, quo minus C. Glau- ciam, de quo nihil nominatim erat decretum, praetorem occideret, ea nos religione in privato P. Lentulo puniendo liberaremur.
- VII. Nunc quoniam, Quirites, consceleratissimi periculosissimique belli nefarios duces captos iam et comprehensos tenetis, existimare debetis omnes Catilinae copias, omnes spes atque opes his depulsis urbis periculis concidisse. Quem quidem ego cum ex urbe pellectam,

hoc providebam animo, Quirites, remoto Catilina non mihi esse P. Lentuli somnum nec L. Cassi adipem nec C. Cethegi furiosam temeritatem pertimescendam. Ille erat unus timendus ex istis omnibus, sed tam diu, dum
 5 urbis moenibus continebatur. Omnia norat, omnium aditus tenebat; appellare, temptare, sollicitare poterat, audebat. Erat ei consilium ad facinus aptum, consilio autem neque manus neque lingua deerat. Iam ad certas res conficiendas certos homines delectos ac discriptos
 10 habebat. Neque vero, cum aliquid mandarat, confectum putabat; nihil erat, quod non ipse obiret, occurreret, vigilaret, laboraret; frigus, sitim, famem ferre poterat. Hunc ego hominem tam acrem, tam audacem, tam
 17 paratum, tam callidum, tam in scelere vigilantem, tam in perditis rebus diligentem nisi ex domesticis insidiis in castrense latrocinium compulsem, dicam id quod sentio, Quirites, non facile hanc tantam molem mali a cervicibus vestris depulissem. Non ille nobis Saturnalia
 20 constituisset neque tanto ante exitii ac fati diem rei publicae denuntiavisset neque commisisset ut signum, ut litterae suae testes manifesti sceleris deprehenderentur. Quae nunc illo absente sic gesta sunt, ut nullum in privata domo furtum umquam sit tam palam inventum, quam haec tanta in re publica coniuratio manifesto
 25 inventa atque deprehensa est. Quodsi Catilina in urbe ad hanc diem remansisset, quamquam, quoad fuit, omnibus eius consiliis occurri atque obstiti, tamen, ut levissime dicam, dimicandum nobis cum illo fuisset, neque nos umquam, cum ille in urbe hostis esset, tantis periculis
 30 rem publicam tanta pace, tanto otio, tanto silentio liberassemus.

• VIII. Quamquam haec omnia, Quirites, ita sunt 18
 a me administrata, ut deorum immortalium nutu atque

consilio et gesta et provisa esse videantur. Idque cum coniectura consequi possumus, quod vix videtur humani consilii tantarum rerum gubernatio esse potuisse, tum vero ita praesentes his temporibus opem et auxilium nobis tulerunt, ut eos paene oculis videre possemus. 5 Nam ut illa omittam, visas nocturno tempore ab occidente faeces ardoremque caeli, ut fulminum iactus, ut terrae motus relinquam, ut omittam cetera, quae tam multa nobis consulibus facta sunt, ut haec, quae nunc fiunt, capere di immortales viderentur, hoc certe, 10 quod sum dicturus, neque praetermittendum neque relinquendum est. Nam perfectae memoria tenetis Cotta et Torquato consulibus complures in Capitolio res de caelo esse percussas, cum et simulacra deorum depulsa sunt et statuae veterum hominum deiectae et legum aera 15 liquefacta et tactus etiam ille, qui hanc urbem condidit, Romulus, quem inauratum in Capitolio parvum atque laetantem, uberibus lupinis inhiantem, fuisse meministis. Quo quidem tempore cum haruspices ex tota Etruria convenissent, caedes atque incendia et legum interitum 20 et bellum civile ac domesticum et totius urbis atque imperii occasum adpropinquare dixerunt, nisi di immortales omni ratione placati suo numine prope fata ipsa flexissent. Itaque illorum responsis tum et ludi 25 per decem dies facti sunt, neque res ulla, quae ad placandos deos pertineret, praetermissa est: eidemque iusserunt simulacrum Iovis facere maius et in excelso collocare et contra atque antea fuerat, ad orientem convertere; ac se sperare dixerunt, si illud signum, quod videtis, solis ortum et forum curiamque conspiceret, fore 30 ut ea consilia, quae clam essent inita contra salutem urbis atque imperii, illustrarentur, ut a senatu populoque Romano perspicere possent. Atque illud signum

collocandum consules illi locaverunt; sed tanta fuit operis tarditas, ut neque superioribus consulibus neque nobis ante hodiernum diem collocaretur. IX. Hic quis 21 potest esse, Quirites, tam aversus a vero, tam praeceps, tam mente captus, qui neget haec omnia, quae videmus, praecipueque hanc urbem deorum immortalium nutu ac potestate administrari. Etenim, cum esset ita responsum, caedes, incendia, interitum rei publicae comparari, et ea per cives, quae tum propter magnitudinem 10 scelerum non nullis incredibilia videbantur, ea non modo cogitata a nefariis civibus, verum etiam suscepta esse sensistis. Illud vero nonne ita praesens est, ut nutu Iovis Optimi Maximi factum esse videatur, ut, cum hodierno die mane per forum meo iussu et 15 coniurati et eorum indices in aedem Concordiae ducerentur, eo ipso tempore signum statueretur? Quo 22 collocato atque ad vos senatumque converso omnia [et senatus et vos,] quae erant contra salutem omnium cogitata, illustrata et patefacta vidistis. Quod etiam 20 maiore sunt isti odio supplicioque digni, qui non solum vestris domiciliis atque tectis, sed etiam deorum templis atque delubris sunt funestos ac nefarios ignes inferre conati. Quibus ego si me restitisse dicam, nimium mihi sumam et non sim ferendus; ille, ille Iuppiter restitit; ille Capitolium, ille haec templa, ille 25 cunctam urbem, ille vos omnes salvos esse voluit. Dis ego immortalibus ducibus hanc mentem, Quirites, voluntatemque suscepi atque ad haec tanta indignia perveni. Iam vero ab Lentulo ceterisque domesticis hostibus tam 30 dementer tantae res, creditae et ignotis et barbaris commissaeque litterae numquam essent profecto, nisi ab dis immortalibus huic tantae audaciae consilium esset ereptum. Quid vero? ut homines Galli ex civitate

male pacata, quae gens una restat, quae bellum populo Romano facere et posse et non nolle videatur, spem imperii ac rerum maximarum ultro sibi a patriciis hominibus oblata neglegerent vestramque salutem suis opibus anteponerent, id non divinitus esse factum putatis, praesertim, qui nos non pugnando, sed tacendo superare perquerint?

- 23 X. Quam rem, Quirites, quoniam ad omnia pulvinaria supplicatio decreta est, celebratote illos dies cum coniugibus ac liberis vestris. Nam multi saepe honores dis immortalibus iusti habiti sunt ac debiti, sed profecto iustiores numquam. Erepti enim estis ex crudelissimo ac miserrimo interitu: erepti sine caede, sine sanguine, sine exercitu, sine dimicatione togati
- 24 me uno togato duce et imperatore vicistis. Etenim recordamini, Quirites, omnes civiles dissensiones, non solum eas, quas audistis, sed eas, quas vosmet ipsi meministis atque vidistis. L. Sulla P. Sulpicium oppressit: C. Marium, custodem huius urbis, multosque fortes viros partim eiecit ex civitate, partim interemit. Cn. Octavius consul armis expulit ex urbe collegam; omnis hic locus acervis corporum et civium sanguine redundavit. Superavit postea Cinna cum Mario; tum vero clarissimis viris interfectis lumina civitatis extincta sunt. Ultus est huius victoriae crudelitatem postea Sulla; ne dici quidem opus est, quanta deminutione civium et quanta calamitate rei publicae. Dissensit M. Lepidus, clarissimo et fortissimo viro, Q. Catulo; attulit non tam ipsius interitus rei publicae luctum quam
- 25 ceterorum. Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones erant eius modi, quae non ad delendam, sed ad commutandam rem publicam pertinerent. Non illi nullam esse rem publicam, sed in ea, quae esset, se esse principes, neque

hanc urbem conflagrare, sed se in hac urbe florere voverunt. [Atque illae tamen omnes dissensiones, quarum nulla exitium rei publicae quaesivit, eius modi fuerunt, ut non reconciliatione concordiae, sed interecccione civium
 5 diiudicatae sint.]. In hoc autem uno post hominum memoriam maximo crudelissimoque bello, quale bellum nulla unquam barbara cum sua gente gessit, quo in bello lex haec fuit a Lentulo, Catilina, Cethego, Cassio constituta, ut omnes, qui salva urbe salvi esse possent, in hostium
 10 numero ducerentur, ita me gessi, Quirites, ut salvi omnes conservaremini, et, cum hostes vestri tantum civium superfuturum putassent, quantum infinitae caedi restitisset, tantum autem urbis, quantum flamma obire non potuisset, et urbem et cives integros incolumesque servavi.

15 XI. Quibus pro tantis rebus, Quirites, nullum ego a 26 vobis praemium virtutis, nullum insigne honoris, nullum monumentum laudis postulo praeterquam huius diei memoriam sempiternam. In animis ego vestris omnes triumphos meos, omnia ornamenta honoris, monumenta
 20 gloriae, laudis insignia condi et collocari volo. Nihil me mutum potest delectare, nihil tacitum, nihil denique eius modi, quod etiam minus digni adsequi possint. Memoria vestra, Quirites, nostrae res alentur, sermonibus crescent, litterarum monumentis inveterascent et corroborabuntur;
 25 eandemque diem intellego, quam spero aeternam fore, propagatam esse et ad salutem urbis et ad memoriam consulatus mei, unoque tempore in hac re publica duos cives exstitisse, quorum alter fines vestri imperii non terrae, sed caeli regionibus terminaret, alter eiusdem
 30 imperii domicilium sedesque servaret. XII. Sed 27 quoniam earum rerum, quas ego gessi, non eadem est fortuna atque condicio quae illorum, qui externa bella gesserunt, quod mihi cum iis vivendum est, quos

vici ac subegi, illi hostes aut interfectos aut oppressos reliquerunt, vestrum est, Quirites, si ceteris facta sua recte prosunt, mihi mea ne quando obsint, providere. Mentis enim, hominum audacissimorum sceleratae ac nefariae ne vobis nocere possent, ego providi, ne mihi 5 noceant, vestrum est providere. Quamquam, Quirites, mihi quidem ipsi nihil ab istis iam noceri potest. Magnum enim est in bonis praesidium, quod mihi in perpetuum comparatum est, magna in re publica dignitas, quae me semper tacita defendet, magna vis 10 conscientiae, quam qui negligunt, cum me violare 28 volent, se ipsi indicabunt. Est enim in nobis is animus, Quirites, ut non inodo nullius audaciae cedamus, sed etiam omnes improbos ultro semper lacessamus. Quodsi omnis impetus domesticorum hostium depulsus 15 a vobis se in me unum converterit, vobis erit videndum, Quirites, qua condicione posthac eos esse velitis, qui se pro salute vestra obtulerint invidiae periculisque omnibus; mihi quidem ipsi quid est quod iam ad vitae fructum possit adquiri, cum praesertim neque in honore vestro 20 neque in gloria virtutis quicquam videam altius, quo 29 mihi libeat ascendere? Illud perficiam profecto, Quirites, ut ea, quae gessi in consulatu, privatus tuear atque ornem, ut, si qua est invidiâ in conservanda re publica suscepta, laedat invidos, mihi valeat ad gloriam. 25 Denique ita me in re publica tractabo, ut meminerim semper, quae gesserim, curemque, ut ea virtute, non casu gesta esse videantur. Vos, Quirites, quoniam iam est nox, venite Iovem illum, custodem huius urbis ac vestrum, in vestra tecta discedite et ea, quamquam iam 30 est periculum depulsum, tamen aequè ac priore nocte custodiis vigiliisque defendite. Id ne vobis diutius faciendum sit, atque ut in perpetua pace esse possitis, providebo.

ORATIO IN CATILINAM QUARTA

HABITA IN SENATU.

I. VIDEO, patres conscripti, in me omnium vestrum 1
 ora atque oculos esse conversos, video vos non solum
 de vestro ac rei publicae, verum etiam si id de-
 pulsum sit, de meo periculo esse sollicitos. Est mihi
 5 iucunda in malis et grata in dolore vestra, erga me
 voluntas, sed eam, per deos immortales, deponite atque
 obliti salutis meae de vobis ac de vestris liberis cogitate.
 Mihi si haec condicio consulatus data est, ut omnes
 acerbitates, omnes dolores cruciatusque perferrem, feram
 10 non solum fortiter, verum etiam libenter, dum modo
 meis laboribus vobis populoque Romano dignitas salus-
 que pariat. Ego sum ille consul, patres conscripti, 2
 cui non forum, in quo omnis aequitas continetur, non
 campus consularibus auspiciis consecratus, non curia,
 15 summum auxilium omnium gentium, non domus, com-
 mune perfugium, non lectus ad quietem datus, non
 denique haec sedes honoris umquam vacua mortis peri-
 culo atque insidiis fuit. Ego multa taceui, multa pertuli,
 multa concessi, multa meo quodam dolore in vestro timore
 20 sanavi. Nunc si hunc exitum consulatus mei di immor-
 tales esse voluerunt, ut vos populumque Romanum ex
 caede miserrima, coniuges liberosque vestros virginesque
 Vestales ex acerbissima vexatione, templa atque delubra,

hanc pulcherrimam patriam omnium nostrum ex foedissima flamma, totam Italiam ex bello et vastitate eriperem, quaecumque mihi uni proponetur fortuna, subeatur. Etenim, si P. Lentulus suum nomen inductus a vobis fatale ad perniciem rei publicae fore putavit, 5 cur ego non laeter meum consulatum ad salutem populi 3 Romani prope fatalem exstitisse? II. Quare, patres conscripti, consulite vobis, prospicite patriae, conservate vos, coniuges, liberos fortunasque vestras, populi Romani nomen salutemque defendite; mihi parcere ac 10 de me cogitare desinite. Nam primum debeo sperare omnes deos, qui huic urbi praesident, pro eo mihi ac mereor relatuos esse gratiam; deinde, si quid obtigerit, aequo animo paratque moriar. Nam neque turpis mors forti viro potest accidere neque immatura consulari nec 15 misera sapienti. Nec tamen ego sum ille ferreus, qui fratris carissimi atque amantissimi praesentis maerore non movear horumque omnium lacrimis, a quibus me circumfessum videtis. Neque meam mentem non domum saepe revocat exanimata uxor et abiecta metu 20 filia et parvulus filius, quem mihi videtur amplecti res publica tamquam obsidem consulatus mei, neque ille, qui exspectans huius exitum diei stat in conspectu meo, gener. Moveor his rebus omnibus, sed in eam partem, uti salvi sint vobiscum omnes, etiamsi me vis 25 aliqua oppresserit, potius quam et illi et nos una rei 4 publicae peste pereamus. Quare, patres conscripti, incumbite ad salutem rei publicae, circumspicite omnes procellas, quae impendent, nisi providetis. Non Ti. Gracchus, quod iterum tribunus plebis fieri voluit, non 30 C. Gracchus, quod agrarios concitare conatus est, non L. Saturninus, quod C. Memmium occidit, in discrimen aliquod atque in vestrae severitatis iudicium adducitur;

tenentur ii, qui ad urbis incendium, ad vestram omnium caedem, ad Catilinam accipiendum Romae restiterunt, tenentur litterae, signa, manus, denique unius cuiusque confessio; sollicitantur Allobroges, servitia excitantur, 5 Catilina accersitur; id est initum consilium, ut interfec- tis omnibus nemo ne ad deplorandum quidem populi Romani nomen atque ad lamentandam tanti imperii calamitatem relinquatur. III. Haec omnia indices 5 detulerunt, rei confessi sunt, vos multis iam iudiciis iudicavistis, primum quod mihi gratias egistis singu- 10 laribus verbis et mea virtute atque diligentia perditorum hominum coniurationem patefactam esse decre- vistis, deinde quod P. Lentulum se abdicare praetura coegistis, tum quod eum et ceteros, de quibus iudicastis, 15 in custodiam dandos censuistis, maximeque quod meo nomine supplicationem decrevistis, qui honos togato ha- bitus ante me est nemini; postremo hesternò die praemia legatis Allobrogum Titoque Volturcio dedistis amplis- sima. Quae sunt omnia eius modi, ut ei, qui in custo- 20 diam nominatim dati sunt, sine ulla dubitatione a vobis damnati esse videantur.

Sed ego institui referre ad vos, patres conscripti, 6 tamquam integrum, et de facto quid iudicetis, et de poena quid censeatis. Illa praedicam, quae sunt con- 25 sulis. Ego magnum in re publica versari furorem et nova quaedam misceri et concitari mala iam pridem videbam, sed hanc tantam, tam exitiosam haberi con- iurationem a civibus numquam putavi. Nunc quicquid est, quocumque vestrae mentes inclinant atque sententiae, 30 statuerendum vobis ante noctem est. Quantum facinus ad vos delatum sit, videtis. Huic si paucos putatis adfines esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione disseminatum est hoc malum; manavit non solum per Italiam, verum

etiam transcendit Alpes et obscure serpens multas iam provincias occupavit. Id opprimi sustentando aut prolatando nullo pacto potest; quacumque ratione placet, celeriter vobis vindicandum est.

- 7 **IV.** Video duas adhuc esse sententias, unam D. Silani, qui censet eos, qui haec delere conati sunt, morte esse multandos, alteram C. Caesaris, qui mortis poenam removet, ceterorum suppliciorum omnes acerbitates amplectitur. Uterque et pro sua dignitate et pro rerum magnitudine in summa severitate versatur. Alter eos, 10 qui nos omnes vita privare conati sunt, qui delere imperium, qui populi Romani nomen extinguere, punctum temporis frui vita et hoc communi spiritu non putat oportere atque hoc genus poenae saepe in improbos cives in hac re publica esse usurpatum recordatur. 15 Alter intellegit mortem ab dis immortalibus non esse supplicii causa constitutam, sed aut necessitatem naturae aut laborum ac miseriarum quietem. Itaque eam sapientes nunquam inviti, fortes saepe etiam libenter oppetiverunt. Vincula vero, et ea sempiterna, certe ad 20 singularem poenam nefarii sceleris inventa sunt. Municipiis dispertiri iubet. Habere videtur ista res iniquitatem, si imperare velis, difficultatem, si rogare. Decernatur tamen, si placet. Ego enim suscipiam et, ut spero, reperiam, qui id, quod salutis omnium causa 25 statueritis, non putent esse suae dignitatis recusare. Adiungit gravem poenam municipiis, si quis eorum vincula ruperit; horribiles custodias circumdat et dignas scelere hominum perditorum; sancit, ne quis eorum poenam, quos condemnat, aut per senatum aut per 30 populum levare possit; eripit etiam spem, quae sola homines in miseriis consolari solet. Bona praeterea publicari iubet, vitam solam relinquit nefariis hominibus;

quam si eripuisset, multos una dolores animi atque corporis et omnes scelerum poenas ademisset. Itaque ut aliqua in vita formido improbis esset proposita, apud inferos cuius modi quaedam illi antiqui supplicia impiis
5 constituta esse voverunt, quod videlicet intellegebant his remotis non esse mortem ipsam pertimescendam.

V. Nunc, patres conscripti, ego mea video quid 9 intersit. Si eritis secuti sententiam C. Caesaris, quoniam hanc is in re publica viam, quae popularis habetur, secutus est, fortasse minus erunt hoc auctore et cognitore
10 huiusce sententiae mihi populares impetus pertimescendi; sin illam alteram, nescio an amplius mihi negotii contrahatur. Sed tamen meorum periculorum rationes utilitas rei publicae vincat. Habemus enim a Caesare, sicut
15 ipsius dignitas et maiorum eius amplitudo postulabat, sententiam tamquam obsidem perpetuae in rem publicam voluntatis. Intellectum est, quid interesset inter levitatem contionatorum et animum vere popularem
saluti populi consulentem. Video de istis, qui se popu- 10
20 lares haberi volunt, abesse non neminem, ne de capite videlicet civium Romanorum sententiam ferat. Is et nudius tertius in custodiam cives Romanos dedit et supplicationem mihi decrevit et indices hesterno die
maximis praemiis adfecit. Iam hoc nemini dubium
25 est, qui reo custodiam, quaesitori gratulationem, indici praemium decrevit, quid de tota re et causa iudicavit. At vero C. Caesar intellegit legem Semproniam esse de civibus Romanis constitutam; qui autem rei publicae sit hostis, eum civem esse nullo modo posse; denique
30 ipsum latorem Semproniae legis iniussu populi poenas rei publicae dependisse. Idem ipsum Lentulum, largitorem et prodigum, non putat, cum de pernicie populi Romani, exitio huius urbis tam acerbè, tam crudeliter

cogitarit, etiam appellari posse popularem. Itaque homo mitissimus atque lenissimus non dubitat P. Lentulum aeternis tenēbris vinculisque mandare et sancit in posterum, ne quis huius supplicio levando se iactare et in perficie populi Romani posthac popularis esse possit. 5 Adiungit etiam publicationem bonorum, ut omnes animi cruciatus et corporis etiam egestas ac mendicitas consequatur.

- 11 VI. Quam ob rem, sive hoc statueritis, dederitis mihi comitem ad contionem populo carum atque iucundum, sive Silani sententiam sequi malueritis, facile me atque vos a crudelitatis vituperatione populo Romano *purgabo* atque obtinebo eam multo leniorem fuisse. Quamquam, patres conscripti, quae potest esse in tanti sceleris immanitate, punienda crudelitas? Ego enim de 15 meo sensu iudico. Nam ita mihi salva re publica vobiscum perfrui liceat, ut ego, quod in hac causa vehementior sum, non atrocitate animi moveor—quis enim est me mitior?—sed singulari quadam humanitate et misericordia. Videor enim mihi videre hanc urbem, lucem 20 orbis terrarum atque arcem omnium gentium, subito uno incendio concidentem, cerno animo sepulta in patria miseros atque insepultos acervos civium, versatur mihi ante oculos aspectus Cethegi et furor in vestra caede 12 bacchantis. Cum vero mihi proposui regnantem Lentu- 25 lum, sicut ipse se ex fati sperasse confessus est, purpuratum esse huic Gabinium, cum exercitu venisse Catilinam, tum lamentationem matrum familias, tum fugam virginum atque puerorum ac vexationem [virginum] Vestalium perhorresco et, quia mihi vehementer haec videntur misera 30 atque miseranda, idcirco in eos, qui ea perficere voluerunt, me severum vehementemque praebeco. Etenim quaero, si quis pater familias liberis suis a servo interfectis,

uxore occisa, incensa domo supplicium de servo non
quam acerbissimum sumpserit, utrum is clemens ac mise-
ricors an inhumanissimus et crudelissimus esse videatur.
Mihi vero importunus ac ferreus, qui non dolore et
5 cruciatu nocentis suum dolorem cruciatumque lenierit.
Sic nos in his hominibus, qui nos, qui coniuges, qui
liberos, nostros trucidare voluerunt, qui singulas unius
cuiusque nostrum domos et hoc universum rei publicae
domicilium delere conati sunt, qui id egerunt, ut gentem
10 Allobrogum in vestigiis huius urbis atque in cinere de-
flagrati imperii collocarent, si vehementissimi fuerimus,
inimicordes habebimur; si remissiores esse voluerimus,
summae nobis crudelitatis in patriae civiumque pernicie
fama subeunda est. Nisi vero cuiquam L. Caesar, vir 13
15 fortissimus et amantissimus rei publicae, crudelior nudius
tertius visus est, cum sororis suae, feminae lectissimae,
virum praesentem et audientem vita privandum esse
dixit, cum iure avum suum iussu consulis interfectum
filiumque eius impuberem legatum a patre missum in
20 carcere necatum esse dixit. Quorum quod simile factum?
quod initum delendae rei publicae consilium? Larti-
tionis voluntas tum in re publica versata est et partium
quaedam contentio. Atque illo tempore huius avus
Lentuli, vir clarissimus, armatus Gracchum est perse-
25 cutus. Ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit, ne quid
de summa re publica deminueretur; hic ad evertenda
rei publicae fundamenta Gallos accersit, servitia concitat,
Catilinam vocat, attribuit nos trucidandos, Cethego et
ceteros cives interficiendos Gabinio, urbem inflaman-
30 dam Cassio, totam Italiam vastandam diripiendamque
Catilinae. Vereamini censeo, ne in hoc scelere tam
immani ac nefando nimis aliquid severe statuuisse videa-
mini; multo magis est verendum, ne remissione poenae

crudeles in patriam quam ne severitate animadversionis
nimis vehementes in acerbissimos hostes fuisse videamur.

- 14 VII. Sed ea, quae exaudio, patres conscripti, dis-
simulare non possum. Iaciuntur enim voces, quae
perveniunt ad aures meas eorum, qui vereri videntur, 5
ut habeam satis praesidii ad ea, quae vos statueritis
hodierno die, transigenda. Omnia et provisa et parata
et constituta sunt, patres conscripti, cum mea summa
cura atque diligentia, tum etiam multo maiore populi
Romani ad summum imperium retinendum et ad com- 10
munes fortunas conservandas voluntate. Omnes adsunt
omnium ordinum homines, omnia generunt, omnium
denique aetatum; plenum est forum, plena templa
circum forum, pleni omnes aditus huius templi ac loci.
Causa est enim post urbem conditam haec inventa sola, 15
in qua omnes sentirent unum atque idem praeter eos,
qui cum sibi viderent esse pereundum, cum omnibus
15 potius quam soli perire voluerunt. Hosce ego homines
excipio et secerno libenter neque in improborum civium,
sed in acerbissimorum hostium numero habendos puto. 20
Ceteri vero, di immortales! qua frequentia, quo studio,
qua virtute ad communem salutem dignitatemque con-
sentiunt! Quid ego hic equites Romanos commemorem?
qui vobis ita summam ordinis consiliique concedunt, ut
vobiscum de amore rei publicae certent; quos ex multo- 25
rum annorum dissensione huius ordinis ad societatem
concordiamque revocatos hodiernus dies vobiscum atque
haec causa coniungit. Quam si coniunctionem in con-
sulatu confirmatam meo perpetuam in re publica tene-
rimus, confirmo vobis nullum posthac malum civile ac 30
domesticum ad ullam rei publicae partem esse venturum.
Pari studio defendendae rei publicae convenisse video tri-
bunos aerarios, fortissimos viros; scribas item universos,

• quos cum casu hic dies ad aerarium frequentasset, video ab expectatione sortis ad salutem communem esse conversos. • Omnis ingenuorum adest multitudo, etiam 16 tenuissimorum. Quis est enim, cui non haec templa, 5 aspectus urbis, possessio libertatis, lux denique haec ipsa et commune patriae solum cum sit carum, tum vero dulce atque iucundum? VIII. Operae pretium est, patres con- scripti, libertinorum hominum studia cognoscere, qui sua virtute fortunam huius civitatis consecuti vere hanc suam 10 esse patriam iudicant, quam quidam hic nati, et summo nati loco, non patriam suam, sed urbem hostium esse iudicaverunt. • Sed quid ego hosce homines ordinesque commemoro, quos privatae fortunae, quos communis res publica, quos denique libertas, ea quae dulcissima est, 15 ad salutem patriae defendendam excitavit? Servus est nemo, qui modo tolerabili condicione sit servitutis, qui non audaciam civium perhorrescat, qui non haec stare cupiat, qui non, quantum audet et quantum potest, conferat ad communem salutem voluntatis. Quare si 17 20 quem vestrum forte commovet hoc, quod auditum est, lenonem quendam Lentuli concursare circum tabernas, pretio sperare sollicitari posse animos egentium atque imperitorum, est id quidem coeptum atque temptatum, sed nulli sunt inventi tam aut fortuna miseri aut voluntate 25 perdit, qui non illum ipsum sellae atque operis et quaestus cotidiani locum, qui non cubile ac lectulum suum, qui denique non cursum hunc otiosum vitae suae salvum esse velint. Multo vero maxima pars eorum, qui in tabernis sunt, immo vero—id enim potius est dicendum—genus 30 hoc universum amatissimum est otii. • Etenim omne instrumentum, omnis opera atque quaestus frequentia civium sustentatur, alitur otio; quorum si quaestus oclusis tabernis minui solet, quid tandem incensis futurum fuit?

- 18 Quae cum ita sint, patres conscripti, vobis populi Romani praesidia non desunt, vos ne populo Romano deesse videamini, providete. IX. Habetis consulem ex plurimis periculis et insidiis atque ex media morte non ad vitam suam, sed ad salutem vestram reservatum. 5 Omnes ordines ad conservandam rem publicam mente, voluntate, studio, virtute, voce consentiunt; obsessa facibus et telis impiae coniurationis, vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis, vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis aras 10 Penatium, vobis illum igitur Vestae sempiternum, vobis omnium deorum templa atque delubra, vobis muros atque urbis tecta commendat. Praeterea de vestra vita, de coniugum vestrarum atque liberorum anima, de fortunis omnium, de sedibus, de focis vestris hodierno 15 die vobis iudicandum est. Habetis ducem memorem vestri, oblitum sui, quae non semper facultas datur, habetis omnes ordines, omnes homines, universum populum Romanum, id quod in civili causa hodierno die primum videmus, unum atque idem sentientem. 20 Cogitate, quantis laboribus fundatum imperium, quanta virtute stabilitam libertatem, quanta deorum benignitate auctas exaggeratasque fortunās una nox paene delcrit. Id ne umquam posthac non modo confici, sed ne cogitari quidem possit a civibus, hodierno die providendum est. Atque haec, non ut vos, qui mihi studio paene praecurritis, excitarem, locutus sum, sed ut mea vox, quae debet esse in re publica princeps, officio functa consulari videretur.
- 20 X. Nunc, antequam ad sententiam redeo, de me 30 pauca dicam. Ego, quanta manus est coniuratorum, quam videtis esse permagnam, tantam me inimicorum multitudinem suscepisse video; sed eam esse iudico

turpem et infirmam et abiectam. Quodsi aliquando alicuius furore et scelere concitata manus, ista plus valuerit quam vestra ac rei publicae dignitas, me tamen meorum factorum atque consiliorum numquam, patres conscripti, paenitebit. Etenim mors, quam illi fortasse minitantur, omnibus est parata; vitae tantam laudem, quanta vos me vestris decetis honestastis, nemo est adsecutus. Ceteris enim bene gesta, mihi uni conservata re publica gratulationem decrevistis. Sit Scipio clarus 21
 10 ille, cuius consilio atque virtute Hannibal in Africam redire atque Italia decedere coactus est, ornetur alter eximia laude Africanus, qui duas urbes huic imperio infestissimas, Carthaginem Numantiamque, delevit, habeatur vir egregius Paulus ille, cuius curram rex potentissimus
 15 quondam et nobilissimus Perses honestavit, sit aeterna gloria Marius, qui bis Italiam obsidione et metu servitutis liberavit, antepōnatur omnibus Pompeius, cuius res gestae atque virtutes eisdem quibus solis cursus regionibus ac terminis continentur; erit profecto inter horum laudes
 20 aliquid loci nostrae gloriae, nisi forte maius est patefacere nobis provincias, quo exire possimus, quam curare, ut etiam illi, qui absunt, habeant, quo victores revertantur. Quamquam est uno loco condicio melior 22
 25 externae victoriae quam domesticae, quod hostes alienigenae aut oppressi serviunt aut recepti [in amicitiam] beneficio se obligatos putant; qui autem ex numero civium dementia aliqua depravati hostes patriae semel esse coeperunt, eos cum a perniciē rei publicae reppuleris, nec vi coercere nec beneficio placare possis. Quare
 30 mihi cum perditis civibus aeternum bellum susceptum esse video. Id ego vestro bonorumque omnium auxilio memoriaeque tantorum periculorum, quae non modo in hoc populo, qui servatus est, sed in omnium gentium

sermonibus ac mentibus semper haerebit, a me atque a meis facile propulsari posse confido. Neque ulla profecto tanta vis reperietur, quae coniunctionem vestram equitumque Romanorum et tantam conspirationem bonorum omnium confringere et labefactare possit. 5

- 23 XI. Quae cum ita sint, pro imperio, pro exercitu, pro provincia, quam neglecti, pro triumpho ceterisque laudis insignibus, quae sunt a me propter urbis vestraeque salutis custodiam repudiata, pro clientelis hospitibusque provincialibus, quae tamen urbanis opibus 10 non minore labore tueor quam comparo, pro his igitur omnibus rebus, pro meis in vos singularibus studiis proque hac, quam perspicitis, ad conservandam rem publicam diligentia nihil a vobis nisi huius temporis totiusque mei consulatus memoriam postulo; quae dum erit in 15 vestris fixa mentibus, tutissimo me muro saeptum esse arbitror. Quodsi meam spem vis improborum fefellerit atque superaverit, commendo vobis parvum meum filium, cui profecto satis erit praesidii non solum ad salutem, verum etiam ad dignitatem, si eius, qui haec 20 omnia suo solius periculo conservarit, illum filium esse
- 24 memineritis. Quapropter de summa salute vestra populi-
 que Romani, de vestris coniugibus ac liberis, de aris
 ac focus, de fanis atque templis, de totius urbis tectis
 ac sedibus, de imperio ac libertate, de salute Italiae, de 25
 universa re publica decernite diligenter, ut instituistis, ac
 fortiter. Habetis eum consulem, qui et parere vestris
 decretis non dubitet et ea quae statueritis, quoad vivet,
 defendere et per se ipsum praestare possit.

NOTES.

ORATIO PRIMA.

N.B. In references to passages in the speeches the first number refers to the speech, the second to the small section, the third to the line on the page. In the notes on a given speech references to passages in that speech are made by section and line numbers alone: thus (in the note on 1, l. 1) 16, l. 17 = 1, 16, l. 17. L. and S. = Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary. *

PAGE 1.

- 1 1. **tandem**] 'I ask,' frequently used in interrogative clauses to express impatience or add emphasis. In more colloquial style 'pray' will best translate it. Cf. the Greek $\delta\eta$, and for instances in these speeches see 16, l. 17 and 2, 2, l. 24.

abutere] *exulet* and *iactabit* show the tense to be future.

3. **sese iactabit**] 'till when will your unbridled audacity vaunt itself?' *Se iactare* = to make an ostentatious display.

4. **Palati**] the Palatium or Palatine Hill, one of the Seven, skirted the south side of the Forum. The Emperors covered it with their palaces in later times, but at the close of the Republican period it was a residential quarter for the upper classes. Recent excavations have laid bare the foundations of the walls of *Roma quadrata*, the primitive Rome, and have also established the site and ground-plan of the very Temple of Jupiter Stator (*hic munitissimus habendi senatus locus*) in which the senate met and this speech was delivered.

* For Cicero's measures of precaution see Introd. 15 and 18.

5. **bonorum**] *boni* is used regularly, in Cicero's political speeches

and letters bearing on politics, of the patriotic party. Sometimes this means the optimates or the Senate, here it includes all loyal citizens who are making common cause against Catiline.

6. *ora voltusque*] 'faces and mien.'

8. *constrictam...teneri*] the conspiracy is held 'fast and bound like a dangerous wild beast.

9. *quid proxima, quid superiore nocte*] 'all these clauses down to *ceperis* form the objects of and are dependent on *ignorare*.'

Cicero seems here to hint at two meetings of the conspirators on consecutive nights, which is the view adopted in the *Introd.* 18; see note on p. xxv.

2 14. *notat*] 'marks off' as in a list or note-book: the word is used especially of the censor's mark of degradation.

15. *fortes*] ironical.

16. *satis facere*] 'to do our duty by,' satisfy the claims of the republic. We are loyal if we save our lives.

si...vitemus] 'should we elude,' the subj. expresses the uncertainty of their escape. The form of condition *videmur si vitemus* is only apparently irregular as the *videmur* implies doubt.

18. *pestem*] 'the ruin.'

3 19. *an vero*] The Latin idiom co-ordinates the two questions. In English we should insert 'while' with the first clause, or contrast a statement with a question. 'While S. acted thus...shall we...?' or 'S. acted thus...and shall we...?'

P. Scipio] P. Cornelius Scipio, Nasica headed the mob of senators who, on the refusal of the consul Scaevola to slay citizens without trial, armed themselves with clubs and broken benches, and killed Gracchus in the Forum with 300 of his followers.

20. Tl. Gracchum] the elder of the two famous brothers, a high-minded and patriotic leader of reform. He tried to relieve the distress of the city poor and revive the *rusticorum mascula militum proles* who had been driven from the country to the town by the large owners who tilled their vast estates by slave-labour. His attempt to enforce the agrarian clauses of the Licinian laws (limiting the amount of *ager publicus* held by one man) roused the vehement opposition of the aristocracy, and in his second candidature for the tribuneship he was murdered by his enemies.

labefactantem] 'shaking the foundations of...'

21. *statum rei publicae*] Translate 'the constitution' or 'the State' simply. *Status* is used with *rei publicae* and *civitatis* in a variety

of senses by Cicero. L. and S. give amongst others 'condition of society,' 'internal peace,' 'public order,' 'form of government.'

privatus] not holding a public office, as the pontifex maximus did not count as a magistrate. Note the emphatic position, and contrast of *privatus interfecit* and *consules perferemus*.

23. **illa...quod**] the *quod* does not give a reason, but introduces a noun-clause in apposition to *illa nimis antiqua*. Translate 'I pass by as of too remote antiquity the fact that...' For *quod* used in this way, cf. 2, 2, l. 20. The plural *antiqua* is difficult to explain, unless we assume with Richter that a second *quod* clause has fallen out: a theory which the MSS reading *quodque* supports.

PAGE 2.

1. **C. Servilius Ahala**] A young patrician who in 439 B.C. treacherously murdered Sp. Maelius, a rich plebeian knight, who had bought corn and distributed it to the plebeians in time of famine. The enemies of Maelius charged him with aiming at tyrannical power, but the story only illustrates the bitterness of party faction at that time.

novis rebus studentem] 'aiming at revolution.'

2. **fuit**] 'was once, but is so no more': this terse use of the Latin perfect is well illustrated by Verg. Aen. 2, 325 *fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens gloria Teucrorum*, and by the dramatic *vixerunt*, see Introd. 27.

ista virtus] 'such a spirit,' *iste* is often used, as here, without any contemptuous force, or reference to a person addressed. See note on 23, l. 7.

5. **senatus consultum**] see 4, l. 9.

in te] 'aimed at you,' or 'against you,' represents the force of the preposition: cf. 4, 13, l. 2 *vehementes in acerbissimos hostes*.

6. **vehemens et grave**] 'drastic and weighty.'

4 8. **desumus**] supply *rei publicae*.

9. **L. Opimius**] consul in 121 B.C. when he took a leading part in the riot which ended in the murder of Gaius Gracchus.

ne quid...caperet] see Introd. 16 and 28.

11. **quasdam**] even the suspicions were vague. Cicero is minimising the revolutionary aims of the Gracchi, in order to contrast with them the severity of their punishment. In other passages he inveighs against them as dangerous leaders of sedition.

C. Gracchus] a far more able and ambitious man than his brother, whose plans he strove to carry out, while avenging his death. He first

made the equites a political party (see note on 4, 15, l. 25), thus striking a blow at the Senate. He won over the mob by corn doles, and set on foot enlightened schemes for colonization. The Senate however undermined his influence and in 121 B.C. he met the same fate as his brother.

12. *clarissimo patre... maioribus*] these ablatives have the force of adjectives defining C. Gracchus.

cum liberis M. Fulvius] M. Fulvius Flaccus, a friend of the Gracchi and one of the triumvirs appointed to carry out the agrarian measures of Ti. Gracchus. On the day of the fatal riot he occupied the Aventine with a band of armed followers. The hill was stormed and Flaccus, who tried to conceal himself, was dragged out and killed. His son, who had been sent to make overtures to the senate, perished among the 3000 victims massacred by Opimius the consul. Cicero in Phil. 8, 4, 14 mentions *duo adolescentuli filii* as being slain with their father *M. Fulvius consularis*.

13. *C. Mario et L. Valerio*] C. Marius, the hero of the Jugurthine War, and the conqueror of the Cimbri and Teutones, was consul for the sixth time in 100 B.C. L. Valerius Flaccus was his colleague. Though a great soldier Marius was a failure as a politician, and finding himself thrust into pre-eminence as the favourite of the popular party, he allied himself with Saturninus and Glaucia, demagogues of an unscrupulous type. Saturninus advocated reforms on the lines of the Gracchi, but both he and Glaucia employed hired ruffians to murder their rivals for office. A reaction against their conduct was inevitable, and the Senate empowered Marius to put down his friends by force.

14. *est permissa res publica*] 'the safety of the state was entrusted to their care.' *Consulibus* is dative, not ablative.

15. *L. Saturninum*] Saturninus perished with Glaucia. After their surrender in the Capitol, Marius did his best to save them by placing them in the Curia Hostilia, but the mob broke open the roof and pelted them to death with the tiles.

16. *mors ac rei p. poena*] death and the penalty for 'the penalty of death due to (or ordained by) the republic.'

remorata est] 'did death delay them,' an inversion of our idiom 'was death delayed in their case?' Cf. *quousque te longae remorentur fata senectae*. Prop. 1, 19, 17.

17. *vicesimum iam diem*] unless Cicero is using round numbers, there is a difficulty here. All the best authorities agree in fixing the meeting of the Senate on Oct. 21st, and the decree empowering the

consuls to take measures to protect the state was probably passed on the 22nd. Taking Nov. 8th as the day on which the 1st Catilinarian was delivered, we get, according to Roman reckoning, an interval of eighteen days.

18. *aciem*] 'edge,' as of a sword.

19. *inclusum in tabulis*] 'shut up in the records,' i.e. entered on the minutes of the House merely, and not yet operative because the Consuls had so far taken no decisive action against Catiline.

21. *convenit*] pft. = *oportuit*.

23. *me esse clementem*] *cupio esse clemens* (cf. 4, 4, l. 30 *tribunus pl. fieri voluit*) is also Latin, but the subject with verbs of wishing is frequently repeated in the accusative: the whole infinitive clause *me esse clementem* forms the object of *cupio*.

24. *dissolutum*] 'lax,' lacking in firmness.

5 26. *in Etruriae faucibus*] the camp of Manlius was planted at 'Faesulae' (mod. Fiesole), a rocky fastness some three miles from Florence. It is a position of great natural strength commanding a wide view of the valley of the Arno and the great Tuscan plain. To the north-west lie the passes (*fauces* refers to these) by which the great roads crossed the Apennines. There are still to be seen Etruscan and Roman remains of considerable interest. In 1829 in the grounds of the Villa Medici, which contain two fragments of the Etruscan wall, was found a treasure of Roman coins, which, from their date, may have been left there by Catiline in his flight to Pistoia.

28. *imperatorem*] cf. 10, l. 3 *nimum diu te imperatorem tua illa Mantiana castra desiderant*. The title of emperor could be borne only by a magistrate possessing *imperium*, and was never assumed by the magistrate when performing civil functions. It thus came to be confined to a general on active service. The outward symbols of the power were the *fascēs*, the bundles of rods and axes borne by the lictors, and these were at once assumed (illegally of course) by Catiline when he took the field 2, 13, l. 14, Sallust Cat. 36, Introd. 21.

29. *atque adeo*] 'and actually,' cf. καὶ ὁγ καὶ, again in 1, 9, l. 17 *de huius urbis atque adeo de orbis terrarum exitio*, where it has the force 'and what is more,' corrective and intensifying.

30. *rei publicae*] the dative of disadvantage, so with *insidiari*, *insidias facere*, &c.

31. *moliri*] 'to compass,' to try to bring about with effort; a favourite word in Ciceronian metaphor, generally in a bad sense, e.g. with *periculum*, *pestem* or, as here, *perniciem*. Cf. in these speeches, 2, 1, l. 3 and 3, 4, l. 16.

iam] now, at once.

32. *credo*] used parenthetically, nearly always in an ironical sense.

ne non...dicat] a difficult sentence to translate neatly—the sense is that Cicero will have more cause to fear that every one should blame his tardiness than that any one should blame his cruelty. Tr. ‘rather than every patriot should say that my action has been too tardy than that a single soul should say that it has been too severe.’

PAGE 3.

1. *factum esse oportuit*] note that as a rule in Latin the verb implying duty, or possibility, is put in the past, the infinitive in the present. Cicero here employs a double past.

3. *tum denique*] ‘then and not till then,’ cf. *tum demum*.

4. *tui similis*] Cicero invariably uses the genitive of persons with *similis*, in later usage the dative is common.

6 5. *quisquam*] ‘a single man’: ‘any one at all.’ Cicero implies the improbability of there being one, hence the sentence is quasi-negative.

7. *commovere te*] ‘to stir,’ ‘raise a hand against.’ Cf. infra 7, l. 30.

9. *non sententem*] ‘though you perceive it not.’

13. *parietibus*] *parietes*, walls of a dwelling-house, cf. 2, 1, l. 15 *domesticos parietes*, as distinct from *moenia* city-walls, see 19, ll. 21, 22, where the two occur together.

voces] sayings, cf. pro Mur. 25, 50 *cum illius nefarii gladiatoris voces percrebrauissent*, tr. ‘what is said (or spoken) at the meetings of your conspiracy,’ or simply ‘the secrets of your conspiracy,’ cf. 4, 14, l. 4 *iaciuntur voces*.

14. *illustrantur*] ‘if light is let in upon all,’ cf. 3, 20, l. 31 *ut ea consilia...illustrarentur*. Note the emphatic position of *omnia*.

16. *teneris*] ‘you are hemmed in.’ Cf. 1, l. 8.

luce...clariora] our phrase ‘clearer than daylight.’ Cicero often uses this metaphor, cf. De Imp. Pomp. 3, 7 in *Asiae luce versari*, ‘beyond the eyes of Asia,’ 12, 33 *lucem adferre rei publicae* ‘help,’ in 4, 11, l. 20 Rome is called *lux orbis terrarum*, and in 3, 24, l. 24 famous men are called *lumina civitatis*.

18. *licet recognoscas*] ‘you may pass in review.’ This is probably a combination of two constructions, *licet recognoscere*, and the jussive subjunctive *recognoscas*. Allen and Greenough (Latin Gr. p. 362) point out that ‘I may go’ is *licet eam*, *licet ire*, *licet me ire*, or *licet mihi ire*.

7 ante diem XII Kal. Nov.] for these dates, etc., see Introd. 16.

20. *qui dies*] Cicero repeats *dies* for clearness and precision.

21. *satellitum*] an attendant upon a prince, then, especially in Cicero, in a bad sense, 'an assistant in crime,' 'abettor,' de Fin. 2, 12, 37 *voluptatum satellites et ministros*, and cf. the degradation of our word *minion*. We have elevated 'minister,' degraded 'satellite.'

22. *num me fecellit*] 'was I mistaken?'

24. *idem*] 'I also,' or 'again, I.'

25. *contulisse*] *conferre* here means 'to assign' or 'fix.'

in ante diem] *ante diem* is regarded as part of a larger phrase, the whole of which is governed by a preposition, e.g. *ex* governs *ante diem* in Cic. Att. 3, 17, 1 *ex ante diem III Non. Iun. usque ad pridie Kal. Sept.*

26. *tum cum*] followed by the indicative, as Cicero is stating a fact and is emphasizing the time when the flight took place.

non tam] 'not so much...as,' cf. 2, 16, l. 17 *non tam hoc queruntur quam verentur*.

31. *discessu ceterorum*] ἀπελθόντων τῶν ἄλλων. Note this as one of the devices by which the Romans were driven to supply the lack of a past participle active. It is neater and shorter than *cum ceteri discessissent*, which is the only alternative, *discedere* being an intr. vb. Cf. *adventu*, *permissu*.

nostra...caede qui] 'with the slaughter of us who...': the antecedent of *qui* is contained in *nostra*, which implies more victims than Cicero, though no doubt he is thinking mainly of the attempt on his own life. For *nostra...qui* cf. the construction of his, her, our, your, as antecedents to a relative, which often occurs in Shakespeare, e.g. 'In his way that comes in triumph over Pompey's blood': Jul. Caesar 1, 1, 55.

32. *quid?*] 'what?' or 'again'—a favourite form of transition in rhetoric.

33. *Praeneste*] an ancient town of Latium, situated on a steep hill about 20 miles S.E. of Rome.

PAGE 4.

1. *sensistine*] some good mss have *sensistin*. Cf. *audin* = *audisne*, a colloquial abbreviation which occurs constantly in Plautus and Terence.

coloniam] see note on 2, 24, l. 3.

3. *mōliris*] see note on 5, l. 30.

5. *tandem*] gives a touch of impatience to the imperative, 'come, pass in review, as I said before': it is more commonly used in interrogative clauses, see note on 1, l. 1.

6. *iam*] *iam* can refer to past, present (see 5, l. 31), or future (immediately succeeding), *nunc* to the present moment only. Cicero uses *iam* here, because he is looking forward to the revelations which immediately follow.

ad] 'with a view to,' or simply 'for.'

8. *inter falcarios*] 'to scythe-makers' street': streets and districts were often named from the tradesmen who inhabited them; cf. Aristophanes Vesp. 789 *ἐν τοῖς ἰχθυόσιν*, in the fish-market, Thesm. 448, Plutus 338.

non agam obscure] 'I will be quite plain with you,' *agere cum* 'to deal with'; for other idiomatic uses of *ago* in these speeches cf. 18, l. 1 *tecum sic agit*, 'pleads with you,' 3, 14, l. 23 *mihi gratiae aguntur*, and 4, 12, l. 9 *id egerunt ut*, 'made it their aim or object to...'

9. *in M. Laecae domum*] for the meeting see [Intro. 18.

9 13. *ubinam gentium*] the interrogative particle *-nam* makes *ubi* more emphatic. The more usual phrase is *ubi terrarum*, cf. ποῦ γῆς; the genitive is akin to the partitive.

14. *quam rem publicam habemus?*] a difficult phrase to translate. An English equivalent would be 'Is this a free country we live in?' Translate: 'what a country is ours?' implying that *res publica* is a meaningless phrase.

15. *orbis terrae*] equivalent to *orbis terrarum* which is more usual.

16. *sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio*] one of the elements of Roman greatness was the strong sense of the dignity of office. Vergil, when he describes how Dido and her people lay the foundations of their new city, says *iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum*. Roman history contains many striking illustrations of the tradition of a 'reverend senate,' e.g. Livy's account of the Gauls entering Rome after the Allia (5, 41) *haud secus quam venerabundi intuebantur in aedium vestibulis sedentes viros, praeter ornatum habitumque humano augustiorem maiestate...dis simillimos*. So Cineas, in Plutarch, tells Pyrrhus that the Roman senate was an assembly of kings. *Gravissimo* implies the Roman virtue of *gravitas*, weight, solidity of character, which gives a man authority with his fellows.

de nostro omnium interitu] cf. the phrase *mea unius opera* and 4, 4, l. 1 *ad vestram omnium cadem*.

17. *atque adeo*] see note on 5, l. 29.

18. *hos...sententiam rogo*] when a question had been referred to the senate (*res relata ad senatum: relatio*), the presiding magistrate took the *sententiae* of the senators in order of precedence: the *princeps*

senatus, the *consules designati* (Sall. Cat. 50), and the *ex-consuls*, *consulares*, coming first. The question was put in the form *dic M. Tulli quid censes*. The senator thus addressed might express verbal agreement, or simply nod or raise his hand, or he might rise and make a speech. In the latter case he was not bound to speak to the question, but might exercise the privilege of introducing a wholly new topic, and in doing this was said *egredi relationem*, to go outside the motion. The method of taking a division was as follows. The 'ayes' and the 'noes,' 'placets' and 'non-placets,' ranged themselves behind the proposer and opposer respectively: *pedibus ibant in (alicuius) sententiam*. As the formal asking and giving of *sententiae* were naturally confined to the more dignified members, the rank and file who took part in the division were called *pedarii*.

Note that in the passive the acc. is retained. *M. T. Ciceronem sententiam rogavi* becomes *M. T. Cicero sententiam rogatus est*.

22. *relinqueres*] 'whom you were to leave in Rome.'

23. *partes ad incendia*] 'you marked out the different quarters of the city to be fired,' see 3, 8, l. 15. Sallust Cat. 43, 2 says that Statilius and Gabinius were told off to fire the city in twelve places at once, *uti cum magna manu duodecim simul opportuna loca urbis incenderent*.

24. *confirmasti*] *confirmare*, to assert, affirm, takes the acc. of direct object, or, as here, an acc. with infinitive clause, cf. 3, 9, l. 22 and 4, 15, l. 30.

iam] see note on 8, l. 6.

25. *quod ego viverem*] 'that I still lived'; the whole phrase is the subject of the infinitive clause *esse paulum morae*.

26. *equites*] Sallust Cat. 28, 1 makes one of them, L. Vargunteius, a senator, the other, he says, was C. Cornelius eques.

28. *lectulo*] the diminutive gives emphasis here, 'in my very bed,' cf. 4, 17, l. 26.

10 29. *comperi*] Cicero used this phrase so repeatedly in speaking of his investigations and the discovery of the plot that he was twitted with it by his opponents. Att. 1, 14, 5 *me tantum comperisse omnia criminabatur*, and Ad Div. 5, 5, 2 *ex multis audiri. Nam comperisse me, non audio dicere, ne forte id ipsum verbum ponam, quod abs te aiunt salse in me solere conferri*.

• 31. *salutatam mane*] the supine in -um after verb of motion: *salutatio*, the morning greeting, was one of the forms of attention (*officia*) paid by clients to their patrons. The client would wait even

before daybreak in the vestibule until the doors of the atrium were opened.

33. *id temporis*] 'at that time,' cf. *id ætatis*. Roby, vol. II. 1092, explains this as a looseness of expression, duration of time passing into point of time when. Similarly the acc. of space traversed is put for the acc. of point reached, *Caesar milia passuum tria ab Helvetiorum castris castra ponit*, Caes. B. G. I, 22. Possibly false analogy with locative usages (cf. *pluris*, *minoris* and *tantū*, *quantū*) had something to do with it.

PAGE 5.

2. *aliquando*] properly 'at some time or other,' but in commands (as here), exhortations or wishes = *tandem*. It is often used with *tandem*, see 18, l. 13, and 2, l. 1.

patent portae; *proficiscere*] the omission of conjunctions (asyndeton), which often marks impassioned rhetoric, is more effective in Latin because of its comparative rarity. The tendency of modern style is all for short sharp phrases, especially since the classical tradition has been broken. In the Latin 'period' the *iunctura* of clauses is of essential importance. The best proof of this is to compare a good modern translation of a classic with the original. Not only are the long sentences broken up, but a large proportion of the connecting links disappear as unessential.

For a very similar passage, see 3, 10.

4. *si minus*] 'if not all.' *Minus*, originally a softened negative, and so appropriate in a conditional clause. *Sin minus* has more of an adversative or contrasting force, 'but if not.'

6. *murus*] 'a city wall,' see note on 6, l. 13.

7. *versari*] 'to move about in a place,' 'to be busy with anything,' and hence in a variety of derived senses, of which our 'versed in' is one of the commonest. Translate here 'to move freely in our midst.' *Versari* is a favourite word with Cicero, and is used by him in various idiomatic ways, & may be best shown from the following passages in the Catilines:—31, l. 2 *in his periculis...versamur*; 2, l. 14 *non enim iam inter latera nostra sica illa versabitur* (will play); 2, 23, l. 16 *in his gregibus omnes aleatores...versantur*; 3, 14, l. 6 *in hac Allobrogum sollicitatione versatus* (mixed up in); 4, 6, l. 25 *magnum in re publica versari furorem* (is rampant); 4, 7, l. 10 *uterque in summa severitate versatur* (deals in proposals of); 4, 11, l. 23 *versatur mihi*

ante oculos aspectus Cethegi (keeps on recurring); 4, 13, l. 22 *largitionis voluntas tum in re publica versata est* (was ripe).

non feram...sinam] 'I will not bear it, I will not suffer it, I will not allow it,' the climax is weak because *feram* and *patiar* are too nearly synonymous. For a fine example of climax see 21, l. 14 beginning *cum quiescunt, probant*.

- 11 9. **Iovi Statori**] Jupiter was regarded as the special protector of Rome. His chief temple stood on the Capitol. He was worshipped as Stator (Stalisher), Opitulus, Triumphator, etc., and there were special temples and statues erected to him under these various attributes.

10. **gratia**] note the position of *gratia*. By its separation from *magna* and *habenda est* it binds the whole clause together, and at the same time connects it directly with *quod*.

hanc tam taetsam] the *tam* is inserted by the Latin idiom which avoids the accumulation of epithets, no doubt from a desire for logical clearness. The same instinct which makes a Roman say *multis ac summis viris*, where we say 'many distinguished men,' is opposed to the collocation of adjective-pronoun, adjective, noun, unless the adjective is marked off by *tam* or some equivalent.

This *tam* must therefore often be omitted in translation, but in this passage owing to its emphatic repetition it is best retained: say—'this plague, so foul, so horrible, so deadly to the republic.'

12. **saepius**] 'too often,' from the implied idea 'more often than is right.'

in uno homine] 'in the person of one man,' Cicero means Catiline; cf. the use of *in* meaning 'in the case of,' Sall. Cat. 52, 12 *sint misercordes in furibus aerarii*, Cic. de Imp. Pomp. *in uno Gabinio diligentes esse*, and Vergil Aen. 2, 591 *talis in hoste fuit Priamo*.

summa salus] 'the very existence.'

13. **consuli designato**] the consuls were elected as a rule in July (see Introd. note on p. xxi), and came into office on the following New Year's day. The consuls-elect were naturally persons of importance, and we learn from Sallust Cat. 50, 4 that in a debate of the Senate they were called on first to give their opinion. See note on 9, l. 18.

15. **proximis comitiis**] see Introd. 14 and 15.

16. **in campo**] the Campus Martius, outside the city-walls, and so the usual meeting-place of the Comitia Centuriata, which, though it had long ceased to be the burgess-army convened for political purposes, could not constitutionally meet within the precincts of the city.

18. **nullo tumultu publice concitato]** 'without any public call to arms.' *Tumultus* is used here in its special sense of a sudden rising or rebellion, to meet which a force had often to be improvised. In the earlier days of Rome it was applied to the Gauls especially; *tumultus* means a Gallic raid, and *tumultuarii* (*milites*) the hasty levy raised to repel it. The 'locus classicus' on the later use of the word is Cic. Phil. 8, 1 where a distinction is made between *tumultus Italicus, quod erat domesticus*, and *tumultus Gallicus, quod erat Italiae finitimus*. Cf. Phil. 5, 31 *cento tumultum decerni*, which L. and S. render 'that a state of civil war be proclaimed.'

In 3, 5, l. 22 Cicero adds the epithet *Gallicus—tumultus Gallici excitandi causa*.

19. **petisti]** cf. *petitiones* in 15, l. 32.

- 12 24. **ad exitium...vocas]** the metaphor of *vocare* cannot be well retained in translation, our nearest phrase 'to call down destruction on' involving a change of meaning. L. and S. give 'to bring to destruction, reduce to ruin, destroy.' Somewhat similar are the phrases *vocare in controversiam* 'to dispute,' *ad calculos vocare amicitiam* in Cic. Lael. 16, 58 = 'to reduce to a matter of calculation.'

25. **disciplinae maiorum proprium]** 'characteristic of,' and so 'befitting, the system of our ancestors.' Our use of the word 'discipline' is narrower than that of its original. *Disciplina* meant training in the widest sense, and included instruction of every kind. Perhaps here it is best to understand it of 'domestic discipline' in view of its collocation with *imperii*, which must here = Cicero's 'military authority.' In Deiot. 10 it is coupled with *mores: imitari, Castor, potius avi mores disciplinamque debebas*.

27. **ad severitatem]** 'in point of,' or 'as regards'—for this use of *ad* with adjectives, cf. *virum ad cetera egregium*, Liv. 37, 7, 15.

28. **iussero]** Cicero uses the fut. perfect here, not the future, because he is looking forward to what will happen (*residebit*) when his order has taken effect.

30. **quod]** *hortari* can take an accusative of the thing or policy urged, as *pacem hortari non desino* Att. 7, 14, and so a double accusative, with pronouns, as here *aliquem aliquid*.

iam dudum hortor] 'I have long been urging you,' the present tense because he is still urgent. Allen and Greenough, p. 292, put well the distinction between the two idioms: 'the English states the beginning and leaves the continuance to be inferred, while the Latin states the continuance and leaves the beginning to be inferred.'

Compare: he has long suffered (and still suffers) with he still suffers (and has suffered) long."

31. *comitum*] the genitive defines the *sentina*. The dregs consist of C.'s comrades. See Nägelsbach, § 100, who quotes *Caes. B. G. 3, 10, 2 iniuria reventorum equitum Romanorum* 'the wrong consisting in the detention of...'

For the metaphor of *sentina*, 'bilge-water,' and so 'dregs,' 'refuse,' cf. 2, 7, 1, 28.

32. *rei publicae*] genitive governed by *sentina*. The republic is compared to a ship with bilge in her hold.

PAGE 6.

13. 1. *consul hostem*] note the effective juxtaposition of these two words at the end of the sentence: it is one of the features of the *curiosa felicitas* of Horace, *perfidia tredulum*, Odes 3, 7, 13. A non-inflectional language like English cannot reproduce the effect in translation.

3. *iam*] 'any longer,' see note on 8, 1. 6.

6. *nota...inusta vitae*] the metaphor of branding with a stigma or mark of infamy frequently recurs in Cicero, cf. *pro Sulla* 31, 88 *ne qua generi ac nomini suo nota nefariae turpitudinis inuratur*.

8. *haeret in fama*] 'clings to your reputation.'

quae libido ab oculis...afuit] in translating it is best to invert the construction, 'from what lust have your eyes shrunk?' *facinus* = crime, *flagitium* = deed of shame.

10. *cui tu adolescentulo*] *cui* is interrogative, and governed by *praetulisti*, which means with *ferrum* to offer, and with *jacem* to hold before, sc. to light the way.

14. 12. *quid vero?*] a more emphatic form than *quid?* for which see note on 8, 1. 32.

13. *novis nuptiis*] dative; for the *scelus incredibile* see Introd. 7.

16. *tanti facinoris immanitas*] lit. the enormity of such a crime, i.e. 'a crime so enormous.'

17. *ruinas*] in Classical Latin used only in plural, in metaphorical sense.

18. *omnes*] attracted to the relative: in translating take it with *ruinas*, 'utter ruin.'

Idibus] interest was paid on the Ides: *generator Alphius, iam iam futuris rusticus, omnem redegit Idibus pecuniam, quaerit Kalendis ponere*. Hor. Epod. 2, 69.

21. *summam rem publicam*] 'the common welfare.' Note that *res publica* is the correct form, not *respublica*, and that the phrase has many meanings besides that of 'republic': a few examples may be quoted from these speeches, 2, 3, l. 10 *res publica postulabat* (the public interest), 3, 13, l. 18 *de summa re publica quid fieri placeret*, 3, 29, l. 26 *ita me in re publica tractabo*, 4, 13, l. 15 *ad evertenda rei publicae fundamenta* (republic).

- 15 25. *Lepido et Tullo consulibus*] M'. Aemilius Lepidus and L. Volcatius Tullus were consuls in the year 66 B.C. See *Intro.* 9 and note on p. xv.

in comitio] the *comitium* or meeting place of the people lay at the foot of the Capitol adjoining the Forum and the Senate House (*Curia*).

26. *cum telo*] *cum telo esse*, or *stare* is the regular phrase for to be armed, or to carry arms.

27. *non mentem aliquam*] 'and that your criminal frenzy was checked not by any reflection or panic on your part': *tuum* and *aliquam* belong to both nouns.

28. *fortunam*] so Sallust, speaking of the final stage of the conspiracy (*Cat.* 41, 3), says *vicit fortuna rei publicae*. There were many temples in Rome dedicated to Fortuna as a goddess; and it is quite consistent with Roman ideas to suppose a special Fortuna as watching over the State. The belief in 'good-luck' is strongly marked in *de Imp. Pomp.* 10, 28 where Cicero counts *felicitas* as one of the essential qualifications of a general.

30. *commissa*] participle used as a noun, acts of commission, and generally in the sense of *male commissa*, offences: cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 1, 136 *post mihi non simili poena commissa tui*.

32. *petitiones*] 'sword-thrusts' or 'passes': cf. *petisti* 11, l. 19. The whole metaphor is from sword-play. 'I baffled your thrusts, so directed that to parry them seemed impossible, by slightly swerving aside—in fact, with my body [not with my blade], to use a common phrase.'

PAGE 7.

1. [*nihil moliris*] probably a gloss inserted here from 8, l. 3 *nihil agis, nihil moliris, nihil cogitas*.

- 16 4. *initiatu sacris*] Cicero is probably alluding here to the supposed ghoulish rites with which Catiline administered the oath to his confederates. Sallust (*Cat.* 22, 1) says that they drank human blood after invoking curses on themselves if they betrayed the plot. Dio Cassius

37, 30 mentions the sacrifice of a boy *παῖδα γάρ τινα καταθύσας, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σπλάγγων αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄρκια ποιήσας, ἔπειτ' ἐσπλάγγνευσεν αὐτὰ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων*. It is only fair to add that Sallust introduces this improbable story with the words *fuere ea tempestate qui dicerent*.

5. *quod...putas*] the *quod* gives the ground for the hint implied in the previous clause, 'thinking, as you do, that....' The indicative emphasises the fact. Avoid translating *quod putas* by 'that you think,' which would require the subjunctive.

9. *quae tibi nulla debetur*] this use of *nullus* is not identical with the colloquial use, which is found in Terence and in the letters of Cicero, of *nullus* for *non*, e.g. *Philotimus non modo nullus venit* Att. 11, 24, 4. As Prof. Wilkins points out, *misericordiae nulla debetur* is normal, and the *nulla* is here retained in the relative clause as being more emphatic than *non debetur*. Translate 'by no means.'

10. *ex hac tanta frequentia*] 'from this crowded assembly': see note on 11, 1. 10.

12. *contigit*] here of bad luck: *contigit* can be used of good or bad fortune, though the former is the commoner. Cf. 3, 16, 1. 15 *quod mihi primum...tugato contigit*, of the *supplicatio*, and Hor. Ep. 1, 17, 36 *non cuiusvis homini contingit adire Corinthum*, it is not every man's good luck to get to Corinth.

vocis expectas contumeliam] 'do you wait for reproaches of speech, crushed as you are by the weighty verdict of the senate's silence?' For the contrast of *vox* and *taciturnitas* cf. 20, 1. 9 and 21, 1. 15: and for *vocis contumeliam* cf. pro Sulla 8, 26 *verbi invidiam* 'an odious epithet.'

13. *quid quod*] 'what of the fact that...?'

15. *constituti*] 'marked for slaughter,' cf. 2, 1. 14 *notat et designat oculis ad caedem unumquemque nostrum*.

17. *quo tandem animo*] the descriptive ablative or abl. of quantity, cf. de Imp. Pomp. 5, 11 *quo tandem animo esse debetis*, 'what, I ask, ought to be your feelings?'

17 19. *pacto*] often in Cicero = *modo*, e.g. *nescio quo pacto*, and *feri nullo pacto potest ut...de Fin. 1, 8, 27*.

20. *urbem*] sc. *relinquendam esse*.

22. *offensum*] with which, as well as with *suspectum*, *iniuria* must be taken, means here 'odious,' 'detested,' it also has the meaning 'offended,' 'displeased.' It occurs in both senses in Cicero; in Verr. 2, 2, 62 he couples it with *odiosus*, and in Att. 1, 17, 7 with *alienatus*: cf. the double sense of *meritum*, that which is deserved, or that which deserves, and so reward, punishment) (good or ill deed.

carere me...mallem] cf. 4, l. 23 and note on *cupio me esse clementem*.

28. ulla ratione] = *ullo modo*. *Ratio* is often difficult to translate in Cicero, and examples of his idiomatic use of the word may be collected from any of his writings. The following instances occur in the *Catilines*. In 2, 11, l. 22 and 3, 19, l. 23 *quacumque ratione sanabo*, and *omni ratione placati* (by all possible means) present no difficulty: but the following are worth notice:

2, 9, l. 16 *in dissimili ratione* (sphere), 2, 13, l. 1 *ratio totius belli* (plan of campaign), 3, 11, l. 17 *leguntur eadem ratione...litterae* (of the same tenour), 4, 9, l. 13 *eorum periculorum rationes utilitas rei publicae vincat* (the consideration of...). In 1, 23, l. 3 *ratio* reason is opposed to *furor*, and in 2, 25, l. 19 *bona ratio* means 'reason well employed.'

opinor] like *quaeso* is generally used parenthetically by Cicero.

31. nihil] belongs to *cogitare*.

parricidio] the word, meaning the murder of a parent, came to be used of any horrible crime, and so here of treason and rebellion.

- 18 **33. tecum sic agit]** 'thus pleads with you'; *agere cum aliquo* means to treat or deal with a person for some end, and as this implies speech or persuasion, the derived sense is easy to understand. Thus *agere cum populo* is to address the people with a view to obtaining their approval or rejection of some proposal.

PAGE 8.

1. quodam modo] 'in a fashion,' 'as it were'—cf. the use of *quasi* with unusual or violent metaphors—the phrase apologises as it were for the hyperbole *tacita loquitur*, 'as if with silent eloquence.'

2. aliquot annis] the abl. of time within which.

existit] 'has occurred,' literally 'come to light.'

3. civium neces] alluding to the part Catiline played in the proscriptions of Sulla; see *Intro.* 7.

vexatio...sociorum] Catiline was prosecuted in 65 B.C. for his extortion and misgovernment in the province of Africa. He bribed his accuser P. Clodius, and the judges, and so secured his acquittal. A year later he, with others who had been concerned in the Sullan proscriptions, was brought before Caesar as *quaestor parricidii*, but again acquitted, his manifest crime escaping 'unpunished and unchecked.'

5. quaestiones] *quaestio* means either a specially appointed court of inquiry such as Caesar presided over as *quaestor parricidii*, or a standing court, *quaestio perpetua*. The first *quaestio perpetua* was instituted

in 149 B.C., and it was appointed to try cases of extortion in the provinces (*res repetundae*). At the first Roman province (Sicily) was formed after 241 B.C., this fact proves in a striking way the rapid deterioration and corruption of the governing class, owing to the absence of any central control. Even after the appointment of the new court, the *iudices* were drawn from the senate and thus were biased in favour of a system from which they had reaped or hoped to reap huge profits.

8. *me totam esse in metu*] the first of three infinitive clauses which form the subject of *non est ferendum*. For the idiom of *totus* in agreement with the subject (here *patria*) where we should use an adverb, cf. Hor. Sat. 1, 9, 2 *nescio quid meditans nugurum, totus in illis*.

9. *quicquid increpuerit*] 'whatever is noised abroad,' that is, 'at every rumour,' cf. pro Mur. 10, 22 *simul atque increpuit suspicio tumultus*.

10. *quod a tuo scelere abhorreat*] 'repugnant to your guilty nature.'

13. *tandem aliquando*] see note on 10, l. 2.

19 14. *haec*] belongs to *impetrare* as well as to *loquatur*.

16. *in custodiam dedisti*] Catiline shortly before he left Rome was threatened with a prosecution under the *Lex Plotia de vi*, enacted in 89 B.C. against those who formed violent designs against the State. In cases of crime committed against the State, persons of rank were put under surveillance in their own houses or in the house of a magistrate (see 3, 14, l. 31). Catiline, in order to gain time and disarm criticism voluntarily placed himself under such surveillance (*libera custodia*), see Intro. 17.

17. *ad M'. Lepidum*] *apud* is the most usual preposition in the sense of 'at the house of.' M'. Lepidus, the consul of 66 B.C.; see note on 15, l. 25.

21. *tuto esse*] adverb for adjective, cf. 3, 5, l. 5 *bipertito fuerunt*, and 3, 8, l. 16 *praesto esse*. Cicero occasionally allows himself a freer usage, as in Deiot. 7, 19 *cum in convivio comiter et iucunde fuisses*.

qui...essem] 'since I was,' or 'seeing that I was,' the relative with the subjunctive expresses the cause, cf. ad Fam. 16, 1 *peccasse mihi videor qui a te discesserim*, 'because I have left you.'

23. *Q. Metellum*] Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer was praetor in 63 B.C. and consul in 60 B.C. In 2, 5, l. 30 he is mentioned as commanding a force in *agro Piceno et Gallico*, which a few months later barred the passes of the Apennines to Catiline and so forced him to give battle at Pistoria.

24. **M. Metellum**] of this Metellus little is known. From the irony of Cicero's description we may infer that he was a nonentity. Some of the inferior MSS. read M. Marcellum, but this is inconsistent with 21, l. 41.

25. **ad custodiendum**] *diligens ad*, cf. 12, l. 17 *ad severitatem lenis*.

PAGE 9.

20 1. **refer ad senatum**] 'bring the matter before the senate,' 'consult the senate,' see note on 9, l. 18.

The Senate had no power to banish a citizen. They could only pass a pious resolution, which Catiline might ignore. Cicero will not lend himself to a farce which is beneath his dignity (*abhorret a meis moribus*). Richter and Eberhard.

4. **faciam ut intellegar**] 'I will make you understand,' cf. *efficere ut...* 'to contrive to...' and *committere ut...* 'to act in such a way as to...' 3, 17, l. 20 *neque commisisset ut... litterae... deprenderentur*.

6. **vocem**] 'the word' sc. exile; *vox* is often used of the spoken word, cf. note on *voces*, 6, l. 13, and de Fin. 2, 2, 6 *dico, Epicurum non intellegere, quid sonet haec vox voluptatis*, 'what is the meaning of the word 'pleasure'?'

7. **ecquid attendis**] *ecquid*=*numquid*, *num*, and is simply a form of interrogation; *attendis* is synonymous with *animadvertis* and governs *silentium*, cf. Phil. 2, 12, 30 *sed stuporem hominis attendite*, 'mark the stupidity.'

9. **loquentium... tacitorum**] cf. 4, 17, l. 22 *egentium atque imperitorum*; in both passages the participle supplies the place of an adjective. *Auctoritas* means here 'the expressed will' or 'decision.'

21 11. **P. Sestio**] this Publius Sestius afterwards interested himself in bringing about Cicero's recall from exile, and was defended by Cicero (56 B.C.) in a speech still extant.

M. Marcello] M. Marcellus was consul in 51 B.C. A bitter opponent of Caesar he was recalled by him from exile in 46 B.C. Cicero on that occasion delivered the speech (pro M. Marcello) in which he eulogises Caesar's clemency.

13. **vim et manus**] 'would have laid violent hands on.' See note on 29, l. 2: and cf. *natura pudorque* 'my natural modesty.'

14. **cum quiescunt, probant**] 'by their stillness they approve.' Cf. Plaut. Most. 3, 2, 31 *amice facis quom me laudas*, 'you do a friendly act in praising me,' and Cic. pro Rosc. Am. 19, 54 *quae cum tacis, nulla*

esse concedis. The two clauses denote identity of action, and the *cum* in this idiom always takes the indicative. The idiom is confined mainly to the primary tenses, but cf. 2, 1, l. 16 *loco ille motus est cum ex urbe est depulsus*. The tendency to avoid the present participle except in the oblique cases, and, in the last instance quoted, the lack of a present participle passive must be taken into account.

15. *cum tacent, clamant*] 'by their silence they cry aloud'—the hyperbole ends a fine climax.

16. *videlicet*] 'doubtless.'

17. *equites Romani*] see Introd. 3. The *Ordo Equestris* dated from the Lex *Scipionia* of 123 B.C. Cicero himself came of an equestrian family. For the relations of Senate and Equites see note on 4, 15, l. 25. For Cicero's guards see Introd. 18 and 25.

19. *frequentiam*] 'crowd,' 'throng,' a favourite word used by Cicero generally with the genitive as here, but sometimes absolutely as equivalent to *multitudo*, cf. *pro Mil.* 1, 1 *non usitata frequentia stipatus sumus*.

22. *haec*] rhetorically, with a wave of the hand, meaning all Rome, or Rome's greatness, cf. 4, 7, l. 6 *qui haec delere conati sunt* and 4, 16, l. 17 *qui non haec stare cupiat*, as Nägelsbach (§ 50) rightly points out, it would be absurd to limit *haec* to the actual temples and other buildings of the city. He quotes Appian b. c. 1, 11 who puts into the mouth of Tiberius Gracchus the phrase *τὰδε δὲ ἀσθένειαν ἀφανισθῆναι*.

23. *prosequantur*] *prosequi* to follow forth, see on one's way, often of ceremonial escort: cf. 2, 1, l. 9 *egredientem urbis prosecuti sumus*.

22 24. *quamquam*] 'and yet,' transitional.

te ut ulla res frangat] 'as if anything would bend you,' or 'to think that anything, &c.'; this use of *ut* in exclamatory questions is best explained as introducing a result clause, dependent on an implied question, 'is it possible that,' 'can it be that?' In *Tusc.* 2, 42 the interrogative is expressed *egone ut te interpellem*, what! I interrupt you? cf. also 2, 18, l. 8 subj. without *ut*.

27. *duint*] archaic form for *dant*, borrowed by Cicero no doubt from some old form of prayer. For the same archaism retained in a religious formula cf. *Livy* 22, 10 *donum dunt populus Romanus Quiritium*.

28. *animum induxeris*] *animum* or *in animum inducere* 'to bring one's mind to,' 'to decide,' takes an infinitive or *ut* clause.

29. *recenti memoria*] abl. absolute, 'while the recollection is fresh.'

30. **at]** 'yet,' in antithesis with preceding negative *si minus*, cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 543

Si genus humanum et mortalia temnitis arma,

At sperate deos memores fandi atque nefandi,

where the negative idea is contained in *temnitis*.

31. **est tanti]** 'it is worth while,' lit. 'worth so much.'

32. **ut commoveare]** the *ut* depends on *non est postulandum*.

33. **temporibus]** 'exigencies,' 'hour of need'; *tempora* and *tempus* are often used in the sense of crisis, and in Cicero's forensic speeches especially of the peril arising from criminal cases, cf. de Inip. Pomp. 1, 1 *omne meum tempus amicorum temporibus transmittenda in putavi*, where there is a play on the word.

PAGE 10.

2. **is]** 'the sort of man,' 'the man,' followed by *ut* or *qui* with subjunctive, Cic. Fam. 5, 12, 6 *neque enim is es, qui quid sis nescias*.

3. **ratio]** 'reason,' see note on 17, l. 28.

23 5. **ut prædicas]** parenthesis, 'your personal enemy, as you proclaim.'

conflare] met. from kindling a fire, an idea often associated with *invidia* (odium, unpopularity), cf. 29, l. 5 *invidiae incendio conflaturum*.

recta] abl. sing. agreeing with *via* understood, 'straight,' adverbial: cf. Hor. Sat. 1, 5, 71 *tendimus hinc recta Beneventum*.

7. **molem]** 'mass,' 'burden,' cf. 3, 17, l. 17 *molem mali*; from the second sense of burden comes the idea of task requiring effort, cf. Verg. Aen. 1, 33 *tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem*.

istius] cf. 3, l. 2. *Iste* nearly always means 'that of yours,' or 'that yonder'; and with this finger-pointing force is naturally associated an idea of contempt. Cicero constantly uses it of opponents in his forensic speeches. It is used twelve times of Catiline in this First Oration. It is not however always easy to distinguish from *ille* unless as being more emphatic, e.g. 1, 3, l. 2 *fuit ista quondam virtus*, and in 1, 3, l. 6 *non est ista mea culpa*. In the last passage the *ista* may mean the charge which the imaginary accuser (*si quis est talis*) brings against Cicero.

8. **servire]** 'to minister to,' so 'to further,' cf. our phrase 'to serve an end or purpose.'

10. **a bonis]** for *boni* see note on 1, l. 5.

11. *latrocinio*] 'brigandage'; *latrocinium* is contrasted with *bellum* in 27, l. 10, and is used concretely for 'band of brigands' in 31, l. 5 *si ex tanto latrocinio iste unus tollitur*.

ut a me non electus] the order is somewhat involved, *a me* is constructed with *electus* and *invitatus*, and *esse* belongs to *ad alienos* as well as to *ad tuos*.

24 13. *quamquam*] see note on 22, l. 24.

14. *ad Forum Aurellum*] a small town in Etruria on the Via Aurelia. *praestolarentur*] 'to be in readiness for you.' Cf. *ad Att.* 2, 15, 3 *ut in Formidino tibi praestoler*.

16. *diem*] usually feminine in the singular, when it means a special or appointed day, or time in the abstract, cf. *Hor. Od.* 3, 6, 45 *damnosa quid non imminuit dies*.

a quo] Catiline not Manlius.

aquilam illam argenteam] This is said to have been one of the famous silver eagles which Marius in his army-reform introduced in place of the existing *signa*, the wolf, the human-headed bull, the horse, and the wild boar. The standards were held sacred, and worshipped by the troops. In camp a shrine was set apart for their reception. Hence Cicero charges Catiline in this passage with appointing in his house a shrine of infamy (*sacrum scelerum*), in which he conducted an impious worship of his 'eagle.'

19. *ut*] see 22, l. 24.

25 22. *tandem aliquando*] see note on 10, l. 2.

24. *haec res*] his departure to join Manlius and begin the war.

26. *voluntas*] 'choice,' see note on 2, 18, l. 6.

non modo] 'I will not say, peace.'

28. *ab omni...fortuna*] to be taken with *derelictis*, which is itself governed by *ex*; the *ab* is due to the partial personification of fortune, see note on 15, l. 28.

29. *confiatam*] 'a band of scoundrels made up of'; for the met. Cf. 23, l. 5.

26 30. *hic*] 'in their midst.'

31. *bacchabere*] 'revel'; the frenzied excitement of the Bacchantes is used of poetic inspiration, or in a bad sense of cruel revelry. See 4, 12, l. 25 *iq. vestra caede bacchantis*.

32. *audies*] *audire aliquem* usually means 'to listen to a person,' especially a teacher: there is a similar ambiguity in the English 'to hear a person.' Cicero's meaning is perhaps best expressed by 'you will not hear the voice, or see the face of a single honest man.'

33. *ad huius vitae studium*] 'with a view to your pursuit of a life like this.'

meditati] for the deponent participle used as a passive, cf. Phil. 2, 85 *meditatum et cogitatum scelus*.

PAGE 11.

1. *qui feruntur*] 'you vaunted, much talked of feats of endurance': a relative clause is often represented by a participle or a noun in English. Nägelsbach, §§ 36, 37 *omne quod vivit*, 'all living things,' *sentus qui sequuntur*, 'the sequel,' *ea quae sensit prae se tulit*, 'his feelings.'

4. *bonis*] dat. pl. of *bona*, goods, property.

habes, ubi ostendes] 'you have an opportunity of displaying,' or 'a sphere in which to display'; cf. 4, 21, l. 22 *ut habeant quo victoria revertantur*.

5. *patientiam*] for Catiline's endurance see 2, 9, l. 21.

6. *quibus*] sc. *fame, frigore, inopia*.

27 8. *temptare*] 'assail.'

12. *detester ac deprecet*] 'solemnly avert and deprecate'; *detestari* means literally 'to curse while calling a god to witness,' and is thus used solemnly to avert evil or assert innocence.

14. *animis mentibusque*] 'your inmost minds and hearts.'

17. *tunc...patiere*] in translating this long sentence, it is best to repeat the *patiere* and reserve *exire* so as to bring it close to the *ut* clause. 'Will you allow the man whom, &c....will you allow him I say to go forth...?'

19. *auctorem sceleris*] 'instigator of crime'; *auctor* is constantly used of the adviser, promoter, moving spirit, e.g. *auctor legis*, mover or proposer, *auctor consilii*, and note especially the abl. absol. use, *me auctore* 'at my instance,' or 'on my advice.'

20. *evocatorem servorum*] see Intro. 15 and 23.

21. *ut..esse videatur*] for the form of the sentence cf. 23, l. 11 *ut a me non eiectus ad alienos, sed invitatus ad tuos isse videaris*; and note the ending *esse videatur*, which was such a favourite with Cicero that Quintilian (Inst. 10, 2, 18) tells us that young students in his day thought their style eminently Ciceronian if they ended a sentence with *esse videatur*.

22. *in vincla duci*] note the infinitive with *imperò*, a construction found only with the pres. inf. passive or deponent in Classical Latin; cf. Caes. B.G. 5, 1, 3 *has omnes actuaris imperat fieri*.

28 24. *mosne maiorum*] cf. 2, 3, l. 9: this constantly recurring phrase illustrates the deep-seated conservatism of the Roman character, which in its nobler forms was one of the chief sources of Roman greatness. Burke's fine phrases (Reflections on the Revolution in France) 'always acting as if in the presence of canonized forefathers,' and 'the ancient permanent sense of mankind' would have appealed to a Roman. They believed in the 'solid test of long experience,' and the 'chain and continuity of the commonwealth' which link one generation with another, and without which 'men would become little better than the flies of a summer.'

26. *leges*] see Introd. 25. In this passage Cicero anticipates the arguments of the Fourth Speech. It is highly probable that large additions were made to the First Speech when it was edited by the author. The original speech, which must have been impromptu as Cicero can hardly have reckoned on Catiline's presence in the Senate, consisted mainly of the invective which stunned Catiline and drove him from the temple amidst shouts of execration. All that is apologetic was added afterwards when Cicero found it necessary to combat the *invidia* with which a fickle populace honoured him.

29. *praeclaram...gratiam*] 'a fine return,' ironical.

30. *per te cognitum*] *per se* might be expected.

nulla commendatione maiorum] 'with no ancestors to recommend you,' for the fact and for Cicero's rapid rise in office see Introd. 13 and note on p. xix; for the ablative cf. 4, l. 12 *C. Gracchus, clarissimo patre, avo, maioribus*.

31. *tam mature*] the *lex Villia annalis* of 180 B.C. fixed the age for the quaestorship at 31, aedileship at 37, praetorship at 40, consulship at 43. Cicero more than once refers with pride to his having been elected to all his offices *suo anno*, i.e. at the earliest possible age.

32. *honorum gradus*] 'steps of office,' *honor* nine times out of ten in Cicero means the honour reflected from high office or the office itself.

propter...metum] If a preposition is separated from the noun it governs by another noun which it does not govern, the second noun must be in close construction with the first: cf. Brut. 21, 85 *ut faciles essent in suum cuique tribuendo*. Latin is much less flexible than Greek in this respect.

PAGE 12.

29 2. *severitatis ac fortitudinis invidia*] 'the odium arising from a courageous sternness' is more formidable than that caused by 'a guilty inaction.' Two nouns in Latin thus connected are often best rendered in English by an adjective and noun. There is no need to call this instance a case of hendiadys, it is simply a difference of idiom. For an instance of hendiadys see 21, l. 13 *vim et manus*.

4. *vastabitur*] the Latin future in this idiom must be translated by our present. The beginner should note the difference of idiom and appreciate the superior accuracy of the Latin.

5. *conflagratum*] 'be wrapped in a perfect blaze of odium.' Metaphors from fire are common in Latin.

6. *vocibus*] 'accents,' or 'appeal'; for *voices*, see note on 6, l. 13.

7. *mentibus*] 'thoughts,' an unusual sense.

9. *usuram*] lit. 'the right to enjoy'; for the metaphor cf. pro Sulla 32, 90 *lucisne hanc usuram eripere vis?* and translate, 'I would not have given yonder cut-throat the enjoyment of a single hour of life.'

10. *dedissem*] the form of condition *si iudicarem...non dedissem* is slightly irregular. Cicero says *iudicarem* because he is still of the same opinion, *dedissem* because, had his opinion been different, he would have acted already.

11. *Saturini et Gracchorum*] see notes on 4, ll. 13 and 15; 3, l. 19; and 4, l. 11.

12. *Flacci*] see note on 4, l. 13. M. Fulvius Flaccus.

14. *verendum mihi non erat*] 'I had no need to fear'; the form of condition should be noticed, 'if they incurred no taint, I had no need to fear.' In de Imp. Pomp. *si Romae Cn. Pompeius privatus esset...tamen...is erat deligendus*, where *is erat deligendus* means 'would have had to be chosen.' Similarly *hoc facere debui* may mean 'it was my duty to do it (and I did it),' or in the apodosis of a conditional clause that is contrary to fact, 'I ought to have done it.'

quid] goes with *invidiae*.

15. *redundaret*] lit. overflow on to, fall upon; perhaps 'recoil upon me' is the best English equivalent. Cicero often uses the metaphor, cf. de Or. 1, 3 *fluctus qui a communi peste depulsi in me redundarunt*.

16. *maxime*] belongs to *impenderet*.

hoc animo fui] cf. 16, l. 17, and our phrase 'to be of a mind.'

17. gloriam] is predicative to *invidiam virtute partam*.

30 19. videant] the subjunctive is the usual construction after *sunt qui* which indicates the class or sort of people who; but note that in the next clause Cicero uses the indicative *aluerunt* because he is thinking of actual individuals who are sitting in his presence, and it is his intention to state facts. The well-known line in Hor. Ep. 2, 2, 182 *sunt qui non hibeant, est qui non curat habere* well illustrates the distinction.

20. dissimulant] pretend not to see: the old fable *quod non es simulas, dissimulasque quod es* is easily remembered.

24. animadvertissem] *animadvertere aliquem* or, as technical term, *in aliquem*, cf. *sarcire in aliquem*, 'to be cruel to any one.' L. and S. illustrate the change of sense from noticing to punishing by the English 'to attend to one.'

regie] 'tyrannically'—the name of *Rex* always suggested tyrant or despot to a Roman, from the expulsion of the Tarquins in 510 B.C.

25. intendit] used absolutely, cf. Ter. And. 2, 2, 6 *quo nunc primum intendam*, 'whither shall I turn?' There is also the phrase *iter intendere*, but there is no need to assume an ellipse.

26. qui non] consecutive, 'as not to see.'

29. reprimi] 'checked'; *comprimi*, 'suppressed.'

31. naufragos: the metaphor of shipwreck applied to ruined fortunes is often used by Cicero, cf. 2, 24, l. 2 *naufragorum yanum*, and pro Sulla 14, 41 *aliquis patrimoni naufragus*, and in the same passage *in malis rei publicae portum aliquem suorum malorum invenire*.

33. tam adulta] 'which has attained such proportions.'

stirps ac semen] 'stock and source,' for the metaphor cf. 2, 23, l. 21 *seminarium Catilinarum*.

PAGE 13.

31 3. versamur] see note on 10, l. 7.

4. veteris] 'of long standing.'

maturitas...erupit] 'the full development waited for my consulship to blossom forth'; this is the metaphor suggested by *maturitas*, cf. 30, l. 33 and note on the passage. *Erupit*, however, is a strong word, and perhaps the gathering and breaking of a storm would give a more forcible equivalent in English.

5. latrocinio] see note on 23, l. 11, and for the tense of *tolletur* cf. 29, l. 4.

7. **residebit**] cf. 12, l. 29; the same thought expressed in different metaphors; 'will still be there, deep hidden in the veins and vitals of the commonwealth.'
10. **aestu fabrique**] 'with the heat of fever.'
- iactantur**] 'lie tossing,' a middle form = *se iactant*
13. **"reliquis vivis**] 'while the rest (of the conspirators) still live.'
- 32 15. **bonis**] see note on 1, l. 5.
17. **tribunal praetoris urbani**] the tribunal was a raised platform on which the praetor's chair (*sella curulis*) was placed: this stood usually in a Basilica adjoining the Forum. The *iudices* or other persons who were present sat on the *subsellia* below the platform. The crowd of onlookers stood behind.
18. **malleolos**] a kind of fire-torch or rocket, having lighted tow and pitch attached to one end. They were used in sieges and naval warfare.
24. **consensionem**] for the *concordia ordinum* see 4, 15, l. 25 and Introd. 13.
25. **illustrata**] see note on 6, l. 14. The participles are grouped in pairs.
- oppressa**] see note on 2, 26, l. 3.
- 33 27. **hisce ominibus**] the omens lie in the orator's words. 'fr. 'with these words of warning.'
31. **isdem quibus haec urbs**] sc. *constituta est*.
32. **Statorem**] 'Stabliher,' see note on 11, l. 9.

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4. **vivos mortuosque**] the expression recalls the famous peroration of the De Corona, in its inclusive energy, *τούτους μὲν αὐτοὺς καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐξώλεις καὶ πρῶλεις ἐν γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ ποιήσατε*.

ORATIO SECUNDA.

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1. **tandem aliquando**] see note on 1, 10, l. 2.

3. **molientem**] see note on 1, 5, l. 30.

4. **minitantiem**] *minitari alicui aliquid*, or *aliqua re*; both constructions are found in Cicero.

eiecimus] a strange anticlimax, which would be almost ridiculous in its effect, if it were not balanced and corrected by the vigorous climax and asyndeton of the next clause. The successive corrections, 'I drove him out;' or rather 'I sent him out,' or rather 'as he was going of his own accord I pursued him with my taunts,' are curiously accurate.

5. **abiit, excessit, evasit, erupit**] this famous sentence illustrates well the superior terseness of Latin over any modern tongue. 'He has gone, he has departed, he has made his way out, he has burst forth.'

9. **sine controversia**] 'beyond dispute,' 'indisputably.'

10. **versabitur**] see note on *versari* 1, 10, l. 7.

in campo...foro...curia] the three chief centres of Roman public life. The Comitia Centuriata met in the Campus Martius: the Forum was the very focus of politics: the Senate-house, the seat of government in Cicero's eyes.

11. **parietes**] see note on 1, 6, l. 13.

12. **loco ille motus est**] a metaphor from fencing or the gladiatorial schools: cf. *loco cedere*, to give ground, to be beaten from one's ground, and *loco decedere*.

cum est...depulsus] 'when he was driven' or 'in being driven'; this construction with *cum* usually takes the subjunctive, unless the point of time, or the fact (as here) is emphasised. See note on 1, 21, l. 14.

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1. **quibus]** equivalent to *qui si eis*.

2. **aciem exercitus nostri]** 'our army drawn up in battle array.'

3. **edictum praetoris]** any of the higher magistrates might issue edicts, but the most important were the edicts of the *praetor urbanus*, who at the commencement of his year of office laid down the principles which he intended to observe in the administration of justice. These were written *in albo*, and posted in conspicuous place. No doubt at the period of which Cicero speaks, clauses dealing with bankrupts and the forced sale of properties (see 18, l. 13) were prominent.

concidit] Cf. de Imp. Pomp. 7, 19 *scimus Romae solutione impedita fidem concidisse*, 'there was a collapse of the public credit.' Cf. 3, 16, l. 33 and 4, 11, l. 22 *urbem incendio concidentem*.

4. **ad curiam]** 'at the doors of the senate house.' A general waiting outside the city for leave to enter it in triumph was said to be *ad portas*.

6. **[suos milites]** if this is kept, it must be taken in apposition to *hos*, 'as his soldiers.'

7. **non tam...quam]** see note on 1, 7, l. 26.

8. **qui exercitum deseruerunt]** the best comment on this is a passage in the pro Murena 37, 79 in which Cicero says that the army of Catiline is not so formidable as those *qui illum exercitum deseruisse dicuntur*. They are not deserters, he says, but emissaries left behind to watch and plot against our lives. *Intus, intus, inquam, est equus Troianus*.

9. **hoc]** abl. neut.: 'the more,' our idiom exactly corresponds, 'the' being the instrumental case of the old demonstrative pronoun.

6 11. **Apulia]** see Introd. 15 and 22.

habeat] sc. *attributam*.

13. **has urbanas insidias caedis]** *urbanas* strictly belongs to *caedis*, 'plots for massacre in the city.' For instances of this figure, called by the grammarians hypallage, cf. de Imp. Pomp. 9, 22 *eorum collectio dispersa*.

14. **superioris]** referring to the meeting in Laeca's house three nights before.

15. **hesterno die]** this fixes the date of the delivery of the Second Speech, sc. on the day immediately following the delivery of the First.

16. *ne*] sometimes in older editions of the Classics incorrectly spelt *nae* (from analogy with *val*) = 'of a truth,' 'verily.' The beginner must not confuse it with *ne* the adv. and conj. It stands first, is always followed by a personal (*ego, tu*) or demonstrative pronoun (*ille, iste, hic*), or demonstr. adverb. The asseveration is usually followed by a conditional clause.

21. *nisi...si*] for *nisi*; 'except if' = 'unless,' there is no difference in meaning.

Catiliinae] genitive. Cicero always uses the genitive (of persons) with *similis*, the dative rarely except with neuter nouns: cf. the Scotch 'the likes of.'

23. *res ipsa*] 'the occasion,' 'the crisis'; the translation of *res* is often a stumbling-block; the following list of instances from the Catilines may be useful: 1, 3, l. 1 *novis rebus studentem*, 'revolution'; 1, 13, l. 7 *privatarum rerum dedecus* (private affairs); 2, 4, l. 16 *re probata* (the fact); ib. l. 18 *rem huc deduxi*; 2, 10, l. 31 *res*, 'means,' 'capital,' (*fides*, 'credit'; 2, 19, l. 23 *rerum potiri*, 'to get the mastery,' cf. *rerum dominos*, 'lords of the world'; 2, 25, l. 10 *his rebus omissis* (advantages); 3, 5, l. 29 *tota res* (affair, plot); 3, 7, l. 30 *rem integram deferre*; 3, 17, l. 45 *in perditis rebus diligentem* (active in mischief); 3, 22, l. 30 *tantae res creditae* (matters or secrets of such importance); 4, 21, l. 17 *res gestae* (achievements, exploits).

flagitat] 'crys aloud for,' well illustrated by Dem. Olynthiacs 1, 10 ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὼν καίρως, ὧ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μόνον οὐχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ.

24. *ne patiantur*] imperative, not final.

desiderio sui] 'with longing for them,' *desiderium* and *desiderare* especially of longing for the absent or the dead; cf. Hor. Od. 1, 24, 1 *quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus tam cari capitis?*

25. *miserum tabescere*] 'to pine wretchedly' or 'in wretchedness'; N. § 82 quotes *miserum* as an example of adj. for adverb; and compares Att. 3, 5 *ego vivo miserrimus*; Fam. 14, 1, 2 *beatissimi viveremus*; so *laetus, invitus, tacitus, diversus*, &c.

For the metaphor *tabescere* cf. Tusc. 3, 31 *Artemisia vixit in lectu eodemque etiam confecta contabit.*

Aurelia Via] this road ran from Rome along the west coast of Etruria to Pisa: there were two other main roads to the North, the *Via Cassia* which ran through the centre of Etruria, and the *Via Flaminia*, the most important, which crossed the Apennines due north of Rome and, striking the Adriatic at Fanum, was the chief route to

Gallia Cisalpina. Cicero mentions the three routes, as leading to Mutina, in Phil. 12, 9, 22 *a sup̄ero mar̄i Flaminia, ab inf̄ero Aurelia, media Cassia.*

26. *accelerare*] intrans. vb.

ad vesperam] 'by evening.'

7 28. *sentinam*] cf. 1, 12, l. 31.

29. *exhausto*] 'got rid of,' lit. 'pumped out,' keeping up the metaphor of the bilge-water.

30. *fingi*] 'be imagined.'

31. *tota Italia*] 'throughout Italy,' this idiom requires an adjective with the noun, it is especially common with *totus*; Cicero de Or. 2, 240 *tota Tarracina*, in all Tarracina, Livy 1, 33 *media urbe*, in the middle of the city.

32. *gladiator*] in its literal sense Hbre (see note on 19, l. 6), elsewhere Cicero uses it as a term of reproach, 'bravo,' 'cut-throat,' e.g. 1, 29, l. 9.

33. *testamentorum subiector*] 'substitutor,' and sp. forger of wills; in pro Best. 17, 39 Cicero uses *testamentarius* in this sense.

circumscriptor] *circumscribere* to get round by writing, so to defraud, cheat by legal quibbles.

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8 5. *iam vero*] especially in transition, 'moreover,' introducing a fresh illustration.

6. *illicebra*] 'allurement,' 'power of alluring,' frequently used in the plural. For the attractive side of Catiline's character see the passage quoted from the pro Caelio in Introd. 8, note on p. xiv.

8. *serviebat*] 'ministered to,' or, as the sense is bad, 'papered to.'

9. *non modo impellendo*] this ablative is akin to the ablative of attendant circumstances. Catiline's promise was accompanied by active encouragement. The gerund seems to take the place of the present participle, which owing to its narrow and strictly temporal use is seldom available in the nominative: for instance when Livy (30, 28, 4) says *senex vincendo factus* he means not 'one made old by conquest,' but 'one grown old in conquest.' In the present passage translate as if *impellendo* was *impellens*. Nägelsbach (§ 31) quotes also from Livy

quem p[re]gat longinquitatis bellorum scribendo legendoque, and insectandis patridus tribunatum gessit.

12. collegerat] the pluperfect of prompt action, 'how in an instant he had gathered': so Vergil uses the perfect in *Georgic* I, 330 *terra tremuit; fugere feræ*.

Years after Cicero remarks on Catiline's speed and energy, and contrasts him with Antony in *Phil.* 4, 6 *ille cum exercitum nullum habuisset, repente conflagrat: hic cum exercitu, quem accepit, amisit*.

9 15. diversa studia in dissimili ratione] 'the variety of his interests in different spheres': see note on *ratio* I, 17, l. 28.

21. adsueta frigore] the Latin idiom has the ablative of the thing you get used to.

exercitatione is the ablative of means: *perferendis* belongs to all the ablatives from *frigore* to *vigiliis*.

22. fortis] 'was called a hero.'

industria subsidia atque instrumenta virtutis] physical and moral gifts are intended: tr. 'though he was wasting in reckless debauchery the sinews of industry, and the weapons of virtue.' Notice the chiasmus, *ind. subsidia*(*instr. virtutis*). Chiasmus (so called from the Greek letter χ) is a method of antithesis by which two pairs of ideas are contrasted in inverse order, cf. Milton *P. L.* 3, 142 'Love without end, and without measure Grace.'

10 24. sui comites] 'this man, if his companions follow him'; the reflexive may refer to any noun in its own clause, which is so emphasized (usually by position) as to become in a manner the subject of discourse.

27. mediocres] 'ordinary.'

28. libidines...audaciae] the abstract nouns used in the plural mean 'acts of lust,' 'acts of recklessness': cf. *laudes* 'praiseworthy deeds,' and de *Imp. Pomp.* 22, 65 *libidines et iniurias*.

30. obligaverunt] *obligare* to put under an obligation, and so, of property, to pawn or mortgage.

31. res] see note on 6, l. 23.

32. in abundantia] *abundantia* usually has a defining genitive, here it is used absolutely, 'in their prosperity.'

33. commissationes] 'revelling,' 'rioting,' the verbal of *comissari* = $\kappa\omega\mu\acute{\alpha}\zeta\epsilon\iota\upsilon$. Cf. Hor. *Od.* 4, 1, 9 *tempestivius in domum Pauli...comissabere Maximi*, of Venus.

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5. **mihi]** the ethic dative, adds a touch of sarcasm, or disgust. English has lost this lively form of expression since the Elizabethan age; cf. Shakespeare 'he steps me to her trencher,' 'goes me to the fellow,' 'touch me his finger-end.'
6. **unguentis obliti]** cf. 5, l. 5.
7. **eructant]** 'hiccough forth.'
- 11 10. **debitam]** 'due to their wickedness etc.'
13. **propagavit]** cf. 3, 26, l. 26 *candemque diem...propagatam esse*; the Latin idiom says 'to prolong an age to a country,' our idiom inverts this. Translate 'will have prolonged the life of the state, not for some brief period, but for many ages.'
14. **quam pertimescamus]** 'for us to fear.'
16. **unius virtute]** referring to Pompey who had brought the wars with the Pirates and with Mithridates to an end; see *Introductio* 2.
17. **intus insidiae sunt]** see note on 5, l. 8.
18. **luxuria]** cf. 5, l. 33.
22. **quacumque ratione]** see note on *ratio*, I, 17, l. 28. The expressions *quacumque ratione*, *quocumque modo* etc., imply an original ellipse of *potero* or *feri poterit*, but became simple phrases: cf. Hor. Ep. I, I, 65 *rem facias, rem, si possis, recte, si non, quocumque modo rem*.
- quae ressecanda erunt]** 'what requires the surgeon's knife'; or the metaphor may be from gardening, cutting away luxuriant or unwholesome growths. The metaphor from surgery, however, suits better with *sanare*; cf. I, 31, ll. 8-10.
23. **ad perniciem]** 'to the ruin'=so as to cause ruin to; for this use of *ad*, cf. *ad spem*, *ad speciem*.
24. **in urbe et in eadem mente]** syllepsis, a figure of speech only found in English in such humorous phrases as 'Miss Bolo went home in a flood of tears and a sedan-chair.'
- 12 29. **permodestus]** 'scrupulously law-abiding'; *modestus*, one who observes *modus* in an ethical or political sense. *Etiam* strengthens the irony of the praise.
32. **paene interfectus]** see I, 10, ll. 28-33 and *Introductio* 8 and note on p. xxv.
33. **rem omnem]** see note on *res*, 6, l. 23.

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1. **conscriptos**] originally the *patres* or patrician elders formed the whole senate: the *conscripti*, according to Mommsen and others, were the plebeian members called up by the magistrate. On this theory the official term *patres conscripti* = *patres et conscripti*. Willems however holds that the phrase simply means 'assembled fathers.'

2. **salutavit**] see I, 16, l. 11.

3. **infortunissimum**] 'dangerous,' often coupled with *cruclis*.

4. **principes**] probably *consulares*, ex-consuls, to be distinguished from the *princeps senatus*, the senator whose opinion, for reasons of precedence or dignity, was first asked by the presiding magistrate.

13 6. **vehemens**] 'the impetuous consul.'

8. **apud M. Laecam**] see I, 9, l. 20 and Intro. 18.

9. **conscientia**] of good or bad conscience, sometimes with *recta*, *bona*, *prava*, *mala*, here used absolutely; cf. 3, 10, l. 10; 3, 11, l. 27 *conscientiae vis*, and 3, 27, l. 11.

10. **quid ea nocte...quid in proximam**] 'what he had done that night (referring to the first meeting at Laeca's house), what he had arranged for the following night.' This passage bears out the theory adopted in Intro. 18 (see especially note on p. xxvi), and cf. I, 1, l. 9.

11. **ratio**] see note on I, 17, l. 28.

13. **teneretur**] cf. I, 1, l. 8.

14. **fascēs**] see Intro. 21.

15. **aquilam illam argenteam**] see note on I, 24, l. 16; in the same passage the *sacrarium* is mentioned.

14 22. **Massiliam**] for the feigned intention of exile see Intro. 20. For the same reason probably Catiline chose the coast road instead of the direct route to Faesulae.

24. **o condicionem miseram**] 'How sorry is the plight, I will not say, of those who govern but even of those who save our country!' *Conditio* means the position in which Cicero is placed, the dilemma which he has to face, and which is stated at length in the next sentence. See note on *condicio*, 3, 2, l. 10.

25. **nunc**] 'as matters stand.'

The long sentence which follows presents no difficulty, if it is broken up. The principal clause or apodosis does not begin till l. 30 *non ille*. *Si* must be understood with each future perfect down to *converterit*. Supply *dicetur* with *spoliatus* and the participles that follow.

Cicero has allowed Catiline to quit Rome, in the hope that he will declare his guilt by making war upon his country; but if he slinks off into exile, men will refuse to believe in the existence of a conspiracy, and Catiline will be regarded as an innocent and injured man.

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- 15 3. *est mihi tanti*] cf. 1, 22, l. 31; 'it is worth my while.' Cicero means 'I do not mind the price' of facing the storm, if only etc.
6. *dicatur sane*] 'let it be said, by all means'; *sane* is concessive here, but in 21, l. 25 *sane varium* it strengthens *varium*.
7. *non est iturus*] 'he has no intention of going.'
8. *optabo*] *optare* always implies strong desire, and is often best translated by 'to pray,' as here.
10. *in armis volitare*] cf. 5, l. 4 *volitare in foro*, the word *volitare* seems to be used of restless and mischievous activity, as contrasted to *versari in foro* of legitimate business.
12. *quod illum emisserim*] the subject of *invidiosum sit*: the subjunctive because Cicero is quoting the charge of his enemies, not merely stating the fact of his having let Catiline go.
15. *idem*] = *eidem*, subject of *dicerent*, placed 'out of position' for emphasis. Tr. 'what would they turn round and say?'
- 16 *quamquam*] 'and yet.'
16. *non tam...quam*] see note on 1, 7, l. 26.
21. *exulem vivere mallet*] see note on 1, 4, l. 23.
22. *nihil praeter ipsius voluntatem*] 'nothing but what he himself has wished and planned.'
24. *queramur*] sc. *quod in exilium ierit*.
- 17 27. *muris interest*] cf. 1, 10, l. 6.
28. *qui Romae remanent*] cf. note on 5, l. 8.
30. *sanare sibi ipsos*] 'to heal for their own good,' dative of advantage, but also to balance *rei publicae*.
31. *placare rei publicae*] 'to reconcile them with the republic'; *placare aliquem aliqui*, also in passive Cic. Tusc. 4, 17, 37 *sibi ipsi placatus*, 'at peace with himself.'

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2. *si quam potero*] sc. *medicinam adferre*.
- 18 3. *est eorum*] 'consists of those,' cf. 1, 12, l. 61 *comitum sentina*.

māgno in aere alieno] trans. 'in spite of their vast debts'; this would be rendered in Greek by a genitive absolute, their debts being vast, but *sum* has no present participle in use. For this idiomatic use of *in* cf. Cæs. B. G. 5, 2, 2 *in summa omnium rerum, inopia circiter sescentas naves invenit instructas*. See Nägelsbach, § 84.

4. dissolvi] in a double sense 'be released from debt,' and 'be separated from their possessions,' cf. *dissolvere aes alienum* or *nomen* 'to pay off a debt.'

In the pro Sulla 20, 59 Cicero again alludes to this class—*hominum genus horribile et pertimescendum, qui tanto amore suas possessiones amplexi tenebant, ut ab eis membra citius divelli ac distrahi posse diceret*.

5. species] 'outward appearance,' opposed to *voluntas* 'inward wishes.'

6. voluntas] (here perhaps) of political feeling, in 3, 22, l. 27 *hanc mentem voluntatemque suscepi* 'policy, purpose'; in 4, 17, l. 24 *voluntate perdit*; often of 'goodwill,' 4, 1, l. 6 *vestra erga me voluntas*; 4, 18, l. 7 *mente, voluntate, studio... consentiunt*.

causa] = *condicio* here, 'state,' 'position.'

7. argento] 'plate.'

8. familia] as usual, of slaves.

ornatus] 'equipped with.' Cf. de Imp. Pomp. 8, 22 *copias omnibus rebus ornatas*.

sis] 'are you to be,' 'to think of your being.' Cf. the exclamatory *ut* with subjunctive in 1, 22, l. 24.

9. detrahere, adquirere] both are transitive verbs used absolutely; *possessio* has a concrete force, cf. J. 11 *possessiones*. 'To gain in credit, what you subtract from your possessions.'

10. in vastatione omnium] cf. 18, l. 3, 'when all things are being destroyed,' or 'amidst universal destruction'; *omnium* = *omnium rerum*.

11. sacrosanctas] 'inviolable,' usually of persons, especially the magistrates.

tabulas novas] lit. 'new account books,' by which is implied a cancelling, partial or entire, of old debts.

12. meo beneficio] 'thanks to me.'

13. auctionariae] Cicero plays on the two meanings of *tabulae*, account-books or 'placards,' 'advertisements of sales'; cf. Ep. ad Q. fr. 2, 6 *tabulam proscriptis, se familiam Catonianam venditurum*. 'Their debts will be cancelled,--not by abolition but by auction.'

14. ratione] see note on 1, 17, l. 28.

16. *certare cum usuris fructibus praediorum*] ‘to contend against usury’ (i.e. to try and meet their obligations), with the produce of their estates; instead of selling a portion of their land to pay off their creditors.

18. *uteremur*] ‘we should find them better citizens.’ Cf. *pro Rosc. Am.* 26, 71 *ne bestiis quoque immanioribus uteremur*. Greek has the same idiom, e.g. *Dem. Ol.* 1, 11 ῥᾶνι καὶ πολὺ ταπεινότερῳ νῦν ἂν ἐχρώμεθα τῷ Φιλίππῳ.

20. *magis videntur vota facturī*] ‘they seem to be more likely to make vows’: the meaning ‘wish’ or ‘prayer’ is according to L. & S. probably not ante-Augustan.

19 23. *dominationem*] a tyranny, the rule of some self-constituted dictator: *dominatio* always has a bad sense in Classical Latin.

24. *quos...desperant*] *desperare* takes *de* with the ablative, or the accusative as here: in l. 27 it is constructed with a dependent clause. For the acc. alone cf. *pro Mur.* 23, 41 *ut honorem desperasse videatur*.

29. *magnos animos*] great courage—the usual meaning of *animus* in the plural: the infinitives *vigilare* etc. depend upon *praecipendum*, or simply on ‘let them think,’ which is implied in the warning.

30. *boni*] see note on 1, 1, l. 5.

33. *praesentes*] ‘will lend their ready aid’; *praesens* is constantly used of the powerful aid of propitious gods. Originally no doubt the idea of a visible manifestation was implied: cf. *Verg. Aen.* 9, 404 *tu dea, tu praesens, nostro succurre labori*. See especially 3, 21, l. 12 *illud vero nonne ita praesens est, ut nutu Iovis Optimi Maximi factum esse videatur?*

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1. *quodsi iam*] the *iam* seems to put the case, ‘supposing for the sake of argument’: notice the position of *adepti*, and notice how much less forcible the structure of the sentence would be if the relative clause were not bound in between the auxiliary and the participle.

4. *etiam reges*] a climax: the very word *rex* was odious to a Roman.

6. *fugitivo*] ‘a runaway slave.’

gladiatorī] the word always has a contemptuous force. The custom of gladiatorial shows was borrowed from Etruria, and is said to have originated in the massacre of slaves or retainers at a great man’s funeral. The professional gladiators were recruited from the slave class; many of them were captives or condemned malefactors. They were trained

in schools (*ludi*) by trainers called *lanistae*. Those who at the end of three years survived to claim their discharge, were only too ready to enlist in the bands of hired bravoes, who in the lawless days of the later Republic took part in the political riots under the leadership of men like Clodius and Milo.

That they were a serious danger is shown by the fact that the Senate considered it desirable to disperse the 'schools' at Rome among the cities of Italy, see 26, l. 31 *gladiatores... potestate nostra continebuntur*.

Cicero, in implying that in times of revolution the dregs come to the surface, is no doubt thinking of Spartacus, who in 73 B.C. escaped from the gladiatorial company (*familia*) of Lentulus in Capua, and with 70 comrades took refuge in the crater of Vesuvius. For two years at the head of an army of gladiators and slaves he devastated Italy and defied the Roman arms.

- 20 7. *aetate iam adfectum*] not *confectum*, 'worn out': the veterans of Sulla's campaigns were ageing, but still retained the vigour which a military training makes instinctive.

8. *iste*] see note on 1, 23, l. 7.

10. *civium esse*] 'consist of excellent citizens.'

12. 11] this seems inconsistent with *optimorum*. Some edd. therefore read *in iis*, 'but among them there are...'

14. *aedificant*] building seems to have been a special weakness with the wealthy or extravagant Roman. Horace speaks of the very sea as encroached upon by the palaces of the rich at Baiae; cf. Odes 3, 1, 33 *contracta pisces aequora sentiunt iactis in altum molibus*.

beati] 'wealthy.' Cf. Horace Odes 3, 7, 3 *Thyna merce beatum*, and 1, 29, 1 *Icci, beatis nunc Argum invades gazis*.

16. *salvi*] 'freed from their obligations.'

20. *eos hoc moneo*] many verbs take a double accusative when one of the objects is a neuter pronoun, e.g. *volo, rogo*.

22. *dolor inustus est*] 'the horror of those times is so impressed upon the state': the fine Biblical metaphor 'the iron entered into his soul' suggests itself as a parallel. For the met. cf. 1, 13, l. 6.

- 21 25. *sane varium*] see note on *sane* 15, l. 6.

26. *qui*] in apposition, by the sense construction, with *genus*; as if *eorum* had preceded.

premuntur, qui numquam emergunt] 'they are sunk in a sea of debt'; for the metaphor cf. 'the submerged tenth.'

28. *vetere*] 'of long standing.'

vacillant] 'flounder,' a favourite word with Cicero, of unsteady

gait, or wavering action. L. & S. translate 'are staggering beneath a load of old debts.'

29. *vadimonis, iudicis, proscriptione bonorum*] three stages of legal procedure are marked, the bail given for appearance, the verdict at the trial, followed by the forced sale of property. For *vadimonium* see note on 5, l. 1; *proscriptio* is used here in the original sense of a written public notice of sale: Sulla in 82 B.C. first gave the word a sinister meaning by his posted lists of public enemies, whose property was confiscated, and a price put upon their heads. Between 4000 and 5000 citizens perished in this organized political massacre.

32. *inītiatores lentos*] 'indolent shirkers,' men who deny their legal responsibilities.

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2. *illud*] refers, as often, to what follows, sc. the question *quam ob rem?*

22 8. *sane*] 'by all means,' cf. 15, l. 6, and the colloquial use in Plautus and Terence, in affirmative replies *numne vis? sane volo*, 'surely.'

carcer] the only state-prison was the Tullianum, an underground dungeon, consisting of two chambers, in the lower of which condemned criminals were strangled or left to starve. It dated from the time of the Kings and is still in existence, underneath the church of S. Giuseppe de' Falegnami. It owes its preservation doubtless to the tradition that St Peter was confined here by Nero.

10. *quod proprium Catilinae est*] 'belong specially to Catiline, the men of his choice, nay rather his bosom-friends.'

11. *dilectu*] *delectus* or *dilectus*, usually of the military levy. In this passage it seems best to trace its meaning to *diligo*, which originally was synonymous with *deligo*.

13. *imberbes aut bene barbato*] 'beardless (from youth) or with beards carefully trimmed,' another sign of youth, as the older men of Cicero's time were usually clean shaven. *Barbati* is used more than once in Cicero of Romans of the olden time, e.g. pro Sest. 8, 19 *unus aliquis ex barbatis illis, exemplum imperii veteris, imago antiquitatis*.

manicatis] 'with sleeves,' a sign of effeminacy, as the right arm was usually bare.

14. *velis amictos*] a toga of inordinate size, a mainsail, was a sign of foppery. Horace in Epodes 4, 7 mentions an objectionable person

who swaggered along the Via Sacra in a toga six ells wide: *videsne sacram metiente te viam cum bis trium ulnarum toga?*

15. *anteglucanis cenis*] 'banquets prolonged till dawn.'

expromitur] 'is displayed,' they show their energy only in debauchery.

23. 16. *gregibus*] *greges* can be used of men in a good or bad sense.

17. *versantur*] see note on 1, 10, l. 7.

18. *neque saltare*] for *neque solum*; the Roman view of dancing is best illustrated from pro Mur. 6, 13 *nemo enim fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit, neque in solitudine neque in convivio moderato atque honesto.*

19. *spargere*] 'to sprinkle,' i.e. drop into a cup or posset.

20. *etiamsi C. perierit*] this supposition belongs in thought to the clause introduced by *scilicet*.

21. *hoc*] for *nos*, attracted to *seminarium*.

seminarium] 'a nursery of Caecilines'; for the metaphor cf. 1, 30, l. 33.

22. *quid sibi volunt*] 'what do they mean?' 'what is their aim?' Also of things, what is the meaning of? Ov. M. 9, 473 *tacitae quid vult sibi noctis imago?*

23. *mulierculas*] the diminutive has a contemptuous force here.

26. *pruinas ac nives*] the English idiom generally has the singular, but we often speak of 'snows': cf. Liv. 5, 2, 7 *militem Romanum... nivibus pruinisque obrutum*, and above, l. 19 *verena*. More unusual plurals are *aestus*, *calores*, *frigora*, which are all found in Livy.

24. 30. *cohortem*] *cohort* is the word regularly used of the staff of a general, or provincial governor, cf. Hor. Ep. 1, 3, 6 *quid studiosi cohort operum struit?*

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2. *electam*] *eiectae* is used of shipwreck, *naves in litora eiectae*, so the word may be keeping up the metaphor of *naufragi*: or perhaps it is better taken in the sense of 'outcast,' 'outlawed.'

3. *iam vero*] often in transition, see note on 8, l. 5; in this passage it seems to have an independent, exclamatory force, 'Why, our colonies and towns will be a match for...!'

urbes coloniarum] = *urbes coloniae*, cf. pro Mur. 10, 23 *virtutibus continentiae, gravitatis*: the most usual idiom is the noun in apposition. Colony is a very inadequate translation of the Latin *colonia*, for which we have no exact equivalent. Garrison-town is misleading, but is perhaps nearer the mark. A Roman colony was essentially military

in character, and in early times, when Rome was still pursuing a career of conquest, practically served as a garrison planted in a conquered district. After the Punic wars the custom arose of establishing *coloniae* to provide for veteran soldiers.

4. *municipiorum*] *municipium* at this time meant an Italian town which had, since the Social war, received the full Roman franchise.

tumulis silvestribus] lit. 'wooded hills,' the scene of Catiline's guerrilla warfare, as we might speak of 'the kopjes of the Boers.'

25 7. *quibus res suppeditamur, eget ille*] *quibus* belongs to both verbs, notice the chiasmus, and cf. 9, l. 22.

8. *equitibus Romanis*] the Equestrian Order. '*Romanis* is no doubt added to avoid ambiguity; *equitibus* might mean cavalry simply, and the knights had long ceased to be the cavalry of the State.

9. *vectigalibus*] the revenues from the provincial taxes.

10. *causas ipsas, quae inter se configunt*] 'the opposing causes,' this sense springs from the use of *causa* as a law-term. Cf. *causam agere*, and *causam sequi*, to plead a cause, and to adopt a cause.

11. *contendere*] = *conferre* or *comparare*, to compare, contrast.

12. *laceant*] 'how hopeless is their plight,' lit. 'how low they lie.' Cf. *Troia iacet*; '*iustitia iacet*, cf. *cadere* and its antithesis *stare*.

13. *pudor...petulantia*] 'on the one side fights decency, on the other wantonness.' *Petulantia* must be connected with *peto*, and thus implies aggression. In translating these pairs of contrasted words, each must be interpreted in the light of its opposite.

pudicitia] 'chastity.'

14. *pietas*] here in the narrower sense of piety as opposed to crime. The wider use of the word in Classical Latin includes dutiful affection to parents, or country. *Pius Aeneas* is so called by Virgil as saving his father Anchises from the flames of Troy, and as carrying his country's gods with him into Latium.

15. *honestas*] 'honour' of character: but it should be remembered that sense of honour is often best rendered by *pudor*, cf. *alōs*.

17. *aequitas* etc.] the four cardinal virtues, according to Plato's classification, justice, temperance, courage, wisdom.

19. *bona ratio*] see note on 1, 17, l. 28; *bona* 'turned' to good ends, as opposed to *perdita* 'misguided.' Others take it (in a political sense) of good conservative principles as opposed to revolutionary.

26 27. *mihi*] the so-called dative of the agent with *consultum atque provisum*: it is common after perfect participles, but rare after other parts of the verb.

28. tumultu] see note on I, 11, l. 18.

31. gladiatores] see note above on I, l. 6.

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1. Q. Metellus] see note on I, 19, l. 23.

3. opprimet] crush, before he has time to rally his forces: *opprimere* has the idea of being beforehand with your enemy, getting in the first blow.

5. ad senatum referemus] see note on I, 9, l. 18 senatorial procedure.

6. vocat] pres. inf., 'is being summoned.'

27 7. atque adeo] adds to and corrects the preceding statement, see note on I, 5, l. 29.

8. salutem] note the position of *salutem* between the two nouns which it governs, and cf. I, 29, l. 6 *rei publicae vocibus et eorum hominum*, so with the noun governed *de complexu eius ac sinu*.

10. monitos...volo] after *nolo*, *volo*, *males* the perfect infinitive is used in Latin, where one would expect the present. *Esse* is as often as not omitted. Allen and Greenough (§ 288, d) remark that the participle in this case is rather in predicative agreement (with or without *esse*) than used to form a strict perfect infinitive, and quote *maturato opus est*.

The use of the perf. infin. in poetry suggests itself as a parallel, e.g. Hor. Od. 1, 1 *sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum collegisse iuvat*.

The idiom in both cases seems best explained by the point of view of the writer or speaker. A Roman in his wishes or preferences tends to look at the realized end rather than the process leading to it.

11. adhuc] as an adverb belongs strictly to *visa est*, but by its position it modifies *lenitas* with an adjectival force, as if implying *mea pristina lenitas*.

solutior] cf. *dissolutus*, I, 4, l. 24.

expectavit] 'waited for this,' note the personification of *lenitas*.

12. quod reliquum est] = *celerum*, cf. τὸ λοιπόν.

13. iam non] 'no longer,' see note on I, 8, l. 6.

Note the emphatic position of *meam*, *me*, *mihi*, and try to bring out the emphasis in translation.

15. portis] best taken as a dative: 'at the gates' would be *in portis*.

16. *conivere*] lit. 'to wink or blink the eyes,' then 'to shut one's eyes to a thing,' *conivere in aliqua re.*

17. *qui vero*] = *si qui*: for *se conivovere* cf. note on 1, 6, l. 7.

cutus] the two relatives are awkward in English, because we do not use the relative to connect clauses so freely as in Latin. Translate, 'If however any man..., and I catch him I will not say in an act but in any..., he shall feel....'

21. *vindicem esse*] 'to punish,' for the phrase *carcer vindex* cf. the use of *suasor*, *auctor* etc. in Cicero, and such phrases as Sallust's *inerat contemptor animus*. For *carcer* see note on 22, l. 8.

28 25. *pericula summa nullo tumultu*] note the contrast and chiasmus in *summa nullo*. For *tumultu* see note on 1, 11, l. 18.

27. *togato*] 'civilian': the *toga* was essentially the garb of civil life, and was worn also by the consuls unless actually at the head of an army in the field, when they donned the *paludamentum*, as the ordinary citizen donned the *sagum*. Cicero is never tired of alluding to the triumph which he won for the 'gown' in his consulship. We learn from Phil. 2, 8, 20 that Antony had twitted Cicero with the phrase *cedant arma togae*, which occurred in his lost poem on his Consulship; Cicero replies, *quid? tum nonne cesserunt?*

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1. *vix optandum*] 'scarcely to be hoped for.'

2. *paucorumque poena*] the ablative of the means, or price, by or at which the safety of all is to be secured.

29 5. *non dubilis*] 'unmistakeable,' *indubius* is rare and post-Augustan.

significationibus] see especially 3, 18, l. 33.

8. *praesentes*] see note on 2, 19, l. 33. In the present passage the idea of 'visible presence,' 'direct interposition,' is prominent, especially as *ut quondam solebant* points to such stories as the miraculous appearance of Castor and Pollux fighting on the Roman side at Lake Regillus.

11. *quam urbem...hanc*] the beginner should remember both in composition and translation that in Latin and Greek the relative clause constantly precedes the antecedent. The order can be retained here by making *urbem* the subject, and *defendant* passive. 'That this city which they have willed should be fairest...may be defended by them from....'

ORATIO TERTIA.

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- 1 3. *domicellum*] Cf. 4, 12, l. 9 *rei publicae domicellum*, a favourite metaphor with Cicero who uses the word with *libertas*, *senectus* etc.

This long sentence ending at *videtis* is rather unmanageable in English; the best way to translate it is to take the objects first from *rem publicam* to *urbem*, and then to insert a summarizing object: 'all these, to-day etc....you see....'

4. *deorum immortalum...meis*] note the chiasmus (see 2, 9, l. 22) and the superb egotism of *laboribus*, *consiliis*, *periculis meis*.

7. *vobis*] 'preserved for and restored to you.'

- 2 9. *in quibus nascimur*] Birthday feasts were a great feature of Roman domestic life. Horace, Odes 4, 11, 17 speaks of Maecenas' birthday as *iure sollennis mihi sanctiorque pene natali proprio*. Cicero in Phil. 2, 6, 15 refers to Antony's celebration of the feast-day of some worthless favourite, *hodie non descendit Antonius. cur? dat natalicium in hortis*.

10. *nascendi incerta condicio*] 'the terms imposed upon us at our birth,' or 'the lot ordained for us at birth,' see Nägelsbach, § 64. The original meaning of *condicio* seems to be compact or bargain, and with this is often combined the derived sense of 'the result of such compact or bargain.' So here the terms of birth imply the subsequent lot in life, good or evil.

The word occurs several times in the Catilines, 3, 14, l. 24 *o condicionem miseram...administrandae rei publicae*; 3, 27, l. 32 *non eadem est fortuna atque condicio, lot*; ib. 28, l. 17 *qua condicione posthac eos esse velitis*; 4, 1, l. 8 *condicio consulatus*, 'terms'; ib. 16, l. 16 *qui modo tolerabili condicione sit servitutis*; ib. 22, l. 23.

13. *benevolentia fama*] the two words do not hang well together in English, the first expresses the feelings of his countrymen

towards Romulus, the second his renown. They have exalted him to heaven with gratitude, and by means of renown.

esse...is] note the emphasis of the inverted order, and the power which an inflectional language gives to an orator of reserving his point.

18. *rettudimus*] 'have beaten back.'

3 20. *illustrata...comperta*] see notes on 1, 6, l. 14 and 1, 10, l. 29.

21. *per me*] 'through my agency.'

22. *ratione*] see note on 1, 17, l. 28.

‘PAGE 29.

1. *expectatis*] 'waiting to hear,' 'expectant.'

3. *ante*] cf. the use of *abhinc* with ablative and accusative.

6. *quem ad modum*] 'how,' the general tendency of modern scholarship is to write *quem ad modum* rather than *quemadmodum*, so also *qua re*, *quam ob rem*, *magno opere*, *si quis* etc.

tam absconditis] the *tam* balances the *tantis*, notice the Latin idiom for 'this formidable and deep-laid conspiracy,' 'this so great and so deep-laid'; and see note on 1, 11, l. 10.

8. *cum...eiciebam*] *cum* usually takes the imperfect subjunctive, unless the point of time is clearly marked, as it is here by the preceding *tum* and by the verb *putabam* in the principal clause.

9. *illa*] sc. *invidia*, the odium of letting Catiline escape.

10. *exterminai]* to be put outside the boundaries, banished; rare except in Cicero and later Latin. Our 'exterminate,' derived from the latter source, illustrates the danger of translating a Latin word by its English derivative; cf. *familia*, *obtinere*, *modestus*, *ferox* etc.

12. *restitissent*] the pluperfect subjunctive of *Or. Obliqua* here represents the fut. perfect indicative of the *Oratio Recta*.

4 13. *quos...eos*] see note on 2, 29, l. 11.

15. *in eo...ut*] 'I spent my days and nights in noticing and watching.'

16. *mollirentur*] see note on 1, 5, l. 30.

18. *minorem fidem faceret*] 'would win less ready credence,' the subjunctive is due to a suppressed hypothesis, 'if I were to speak.' *Facere fidem* 'to create belief,' 'win credence,' *habere fidem* 'to entertain belief,' 'to believe.' For another use of *facere* see 11, l. 19 *feci potestatem* 'I gave them the opportunity.'

19. *ut*] for the repetition of *ut* cf. 18, l. 9.

animis] introduced solely as a rhetorical antithesis to *oculis*.

5. 21. *legatos Allobrogum*] see Introd. 22, 23, and 24.
 22. *tumultus*] see note on 1, 11, l. 18.
 24. *eodemque itinere*] 'and on their way'; they would have to pass through *Eturia*.
 27. *facultatem...ut*] *facultas* most commonly takes a genitive or *ad* with accusative, e.g. *dicendi* or *ad dicendum*.
 28. *optabam*] see note on 2, 15, l. 8.
 31. *L. Flaccum et C. Pomptinum*] Sallust, in Cat. 45, calls them *homines militares*. C. Pomptinus was propraetor of the Provincia Narbonensis in 61 B.C. and put down a rising of the Allobroges.
 For Flaccus and Cicero's connection with him see Introd. 23 and note on p. xxxi.
 32. *fortissimos...viros*] 'men of the utmost gallantry and loyalty to the republic.'
 33. *quid fieri placeret*] 'what I thought ought to be done.'

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1. *qui omnia...sentirent*] the subjunctive is due to the underlying notion of cause or consequence contained in the relative, 'the sort of men who' or 'as men who...'

Præclara sentire 'to entertain admirable sentiments'; *omnia* adds the touch that they entertained 'none but admirable sentiments.'

The idiom of the verb with neuter plural of an adjective is noteworthy; cf. pro Sulla 5, 14 *multa audiui, multa quaesivi, multa cognovi*; and in Cat. 4, 2, l. 18 *multa tacui*, and ib. 14, l. 16 *sentire unum atque idem* 'to hold identical views,' similarly *vera dicere, iusta precari*, and in de Imp. Pomp. 13, 37 there is a closely parallel passage, *quid hunc hominem magnum atque amplum de re publica cogitare?*

3. *pontem Mulvium*] now the Ponte Molle, a bridge over the Tiber, two Roman miles from the Porta Flaminia. The Via Flaminia passed over it.

4. *proximis*] 'immediately adjoining the bridge.'

5. *bipertito fuerunt*] see note on 1, 19, l. 21.

inter eos] 'between the two divisions.'

6. *eodem*] 'to the same spot.'

7. *praefectura*] a *praefectura* was a provincial town, which was governed by a deputy (*praefectus*) sent from Rome. Reate was a small Sabine town, which claimed connection with Cicero as its *patronus*, see note on 4, 23, l. 9.

9. in rei publicae praesidio] there is another reading *in re publica* 'the public service'; *praesidio*, in that case, must be taken as a predicative dative with *miseram*, 'I had sent as guard.'
- 6 10. *tertia fere vigilia exacta*] the night was divided into four equal watches, the end of the third watch would be about three o'clock in the morning.
- cum iam] 'at the very moment when,' cf. *cum maxime*.
11. magno comitatu] the ablative is used without *cum* in military phrases, cf. *Caes. B. G. 2, 19 subsequatur omnibus copiis*.
12. educuntur] the full phrase is *gladium e vagina educere*, some MSS give *ducuntur* which occurs in poetry in the same sense, e.g. *Verg. Aen. 12, 378 ducto mucrone*.
13. praetoribus...solis] Sallust, *Cat. 45, 3 Galli cito cognito consilio sine mora praetoribus se tradunt*.
14. interveniu] the ablatives of supines or nouns of the 4th Declension, with a dependent genitive, often take the place of an ablative absolute construction. Cf. *infra 8, 1. 2 admonitu Allobrogum, so iussu, iniussu, adventu* etc., and see note on 1, 7, 31.
15. quae erat commissa] 'which had already begun,' cf. *conferre signa, signis collatis*.
16. integris signis] 'with seals unbroken.'
17. Cimbrum Gabinium] an *equus*; Sallust calls him *P. Gabinus Capito* (*Cat. 17, 4*), he also mentions him (*ib. 43, 2*) with *Statilius* as being told off for the duty of setting fire to the city in twelve places.
18. accersitus] the same form *accersit* for *arcessit* occurs in the best MSS in 4, 13, 1. 27. The two forms are probably distinct in origin. *L. & S.* derive *accerso* as a causative from *accedo*, cf. *incesso* from *incedo*.
19. L. Statilius...C. Cethegus] see *Introductio* 19; and cf. Sallust's description of *Cethegus* (43, 4) *natura ferox, vehemens, manu promptus erat, maximum bonum in celeritate putabat*.
20. credo quod] ironical; for *Lentulus'* sluggish character see 165¹. 2 *P. Lentuli somnum*.
21. litteris dandis] *litteras dare*, to hand a letter to the messenger *tabellarius*, often means as here to write a letter, cf. *Cicero ad Att. 4, 17 abs te proximas litteras habebim Epheso a.d. V. Id. Sext. datas*.
22. vigilarat] 'had been up late.'
- 7 cum...placeret] 'though it was the view of.'
23. frequentes] 'in numbers,' = *permulti*.
24. ad me] 'to my house,' cf. *apud me = chez moi*.
25. prius aperiri quam...deferri] *quam* with *prius* and *cante* is usually

followed by a subjunctive, but cf. ad Att. 2, 20, 2 *addit etiam se prius occisum iri ab eo quam me violatum iri.*

28. *temere*] 'lightly,' 'heedlessly.'

tantus tumultus infectus] the Latin idiom is an inversion of ours, 'the state was thrown into a panic.'

29. *facturum ut*] 'I said I would not act in such a way as not to...,' the expression is cumbrous in English. We should probably say 'commit the folly of not laying the matter etc.' See note on 1, 20, l. 4.

de periculo publico] 'on an occasion of public peril.'

30. *consilium publicum*] sc. the senate.

rem integram deferre] to bring forward a matter without prejudice, as an open question; cf. 4, 6, l. 22 *sed ego institui referre ad vos, tamquam integram...*, and see note on *res* 2, 6, l. 23.

31. *si*] 'even if....'

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2. *coegi*] *cogere* is the technical term for convening a meeting of the senate.

8 4. *si quid telorum*] 'any weapons there might be,' *quidquid* would mean 'whatever weapons there were.'

7. *fidem publicam*] 'a promise of pardon,' the Greek *ἀδεια*.

8. *ea quae sciret*] 'whatever he knew,' the subjunctive is due to the indefinite force of the relative.

9. *cum vix se...recreasset*] 'when he had with difficulty recovered from his panic'; *se recreare*, cf. *ad se redire*, and in de Imp. Pomp. 9, 23 *afflictum erexit, perditumque recreavit*.

13. *eo consilio ut...praesto esset*] 'with the design of being at hand, to cut off fugitives.'

16. *fugientes*] the use of the present participle in the plural as a substantive is exceedingly common in Livy, but is not uncommon in Cicero and Caesar. Nägelsbach § 29 gives several instances, but mostly in the genitive, e.g. *multus variusque sermo partim admirantium, partim scire cupientium*, N. D. 1, 3, 6; see also note on 1, 20, l. 9.

17. *urbanis*] = 'within the walls.'

9 21. *sibi*] refers to the conspirators; note that *sibi* in the next line refers to the Allobroges.

22. *confirmasse*] 'had assured them,' lit. 'stated positively to them.'

ex fati Sibyllinis] 'from the books of fate.' The Sibylline books were a collection of disconnected oracles written in Greek hexameters. Tradition attributed them to the Sibyl of Cumae, who sold them to Tarquinius Priscus or Superbus. They were kept in the Temple of Jupiter, on the Capitol, in the charge of a special body of *decemviri*. On solemn occasions, and in great crises, the senate ordered the decemvirs, to inspect (*adire*) the sacred scrolls.

Probably the method of consultation resembled that adopted in the *Sortes Virgilianae*, a verse being taken at random and interpreted, with or without perverse ingenuity, to suit the occasion. It is probable that Lentulus consulted a private collection of his own. Many such copies existed. When the Capitol was burned in 83 B.C., a new collection was made; and Augustus in the course of his religious reforms had some 2000 so-called prophetic books destroyed by fire.

23. haruspicum] the *haruspices*, who foretold the future from the inspection of the entrails of victims, sent from Etruria. The name is derived from Sanscrit *hird*, entrails, and the root *-spic* or *-spec*.

25. esset necesse] it was inevitable, or ordained. Sallust, Cat. 47, 3 says *cui fatum foret urbis potiri*.

Cinnum] L. Cornelius Cinna was consul in 87 B.C. On Sulla's departure for the East, he recalled Marius and with him carried out a massacre of Sulla's adherents. On the death of Marius he was for a short time supreme, but when he attempted to lead an army from Italy to Greece to meet Sulla, he was murdered by his own troops.

Sullam] L. Cornelius Sulla, the dictator, and rival of Marius. On his return from the East, he overthrew the Marian party, and after the organised massacre of his enemies through the Proscriptions (see note on 2, 21, l. 29), he used his power to bolster up for a time the government of the aristocracy, by degrading the tribunate and exalting the Senate. He laid down his dictatorship in 79 and retired into private life. He died in 78, and his work was undone in 70 (see Introd. 1).

26. fatalem] 'ordained by fate for the destruction...'

27., qui esset annus] 'being the tenth year,' *cum esset* takes the place of the present participle.

28. post virginum absolutionem] for a Vestal virgin to break her vows was a *prodigium* to be averted by solemn sacrifice and expiatory rites. The rarity of the occurrence makes even an acquittal memorable.

post Capitoli...incensionem] in 83 B.C., see note on l. 22 supra. The very existence of Rome seemed to depend on the Capitol and the sacred fire of Vesta, cf. Horace, Odes 3, 5, 12, and 3, 30, 8 *dum*

Capitolium scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex, of the immortality of his verse. See also Cat. 4, 18, 10 where *arcem et Capitolium* is followed in the next line by *illum ignem Vestae sempiternum*.

16. 31. *Saturnalibus*] the public festival of the Saturnalia fell on the 19th December. It was a time of general merriment and relaxation in which even the slaves had a share.

32. *ne longum sit*] 'not to be tedious,' 'to be brief,' cf. 17, l. 27 *ut levissime dicam*.

33. *tabellas*] *tabellae*, a diminutive of *tabulae*, no doubt of the size known as *pugillares* (i.e. small enough to hold in the hand, *pugnus*). These writing tablets were made of thin wood covered with wax, in the surface of which the letter was scratched with a metal pencil (*stilus*). To prevent the wax of one tablet from rubbing against the other, there was a raised margin round each like the wooden frame of a slate. The two tablets (*diptycha*, twice-folded) were often fastened at the back by wires, and had the outer corners perforated. When the letter had been written the tablets were closed, a triple thread (*linum*) was passed through the perforations, tied and then sealed. Hence in opening the letters, Cicero first calls upon the conspirator to identify his seal, and then cuts the thread (*linum incidimus*).

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1. *datae*] sc. *esse*.

2. *erat scriptum*] the subject of *erat* is the infinitive clause *sese... facturum esse*.

5. *sibi*] refers not to *legati*, but to the subject of *orare*, *se*, i.e. Cethegus. Sometimes for clearness *ipse* is substituted in the oblique cases for *se*, but, as Richter points out, *ipsi* would be ambiguous here as it might be mistaken for nom. pl.

recepissent] *recipere alicui* = to undertake for some one, cf. *spondere*, *promittere*.

6. *qui*] = *cum is*.

tamen] emphasises *aliquid*; he made some answer at any rate, now he can say nothing.

7. *apud ipsum*] 'in his house.'

8. *ferramentorum studiosum*] 'a connoisseur of good iron-work': *ferramenta* usually of tools used in trades, but cf. pro Sulla 19, 55 *obtulit se ad ferramenta prospicienda*, of the weapons of gladiators.

9. *debilitatus atque abiectus*] 'disheartened and conscience-stricken.' Cf. 4, 3, 4. 20 *abiecta metu* = *adflcta metu*.

11. *manum*] 'handwriting,' we say that a man writes 'a good hand.'

12. *in eandem fere sententiam*] 'of the same purport,' or 'essence'; for the use of *in* cf. de Off. 3, 23, 89 *in utramque partem disputat* (for and against), and ad Alt. 2, 22 *hanc et in eam sententiam cum multa dixisset*.

14. *vero*] emphatic, 'it is indeed.'

15. *imago avi tui*] 'the portrait of your grandfather'; P. Cornelius Lentulus was consul in 162 B.C. As *princeps senatus* he supported Opimius in his onslaught on C. Gracchus, see note on 1, 4, l. 13, and cf. especially 4, 13, l. 23 *huius avus Lentuli...armatus Gracchum est persecutus*.

17. *muta revocare*] *muta*, 'though dumb': for the oxymoron (the use of contradictory words in the same phrase, oxymoron means pointedly-foolish), cf. 1, 18, l. 1 *tacita loquitur*. Tennyson in the Idylls, Lancelot and Elaine, has

'His honour rooted in dishonour stood,
And faith unfaithful kept him falsely true.'

11. *eadem ratione*] 'of the same drift,' see note on *ratio* 1, 17, l. 28. An alternative rendering 'by the same method of procedure' is less probable.

19. *fecit potestatem*] see note on 4, l. 18.

24. *constanter*] 'unflinchingly.'

26. *subito scelere demens*] *subito* is the adverb: *scelere* has the force of *consentia sceleris*; *demens* 'beside himself.' He lost his head.

27. *consentia vis*] 'the power of conscience,' *vis* the innate force, cf. *magna vis veritatis*. In l. 30 *vim sceleris* is rather the 'weight' that overpowers or crushes.

quam] 'although.'

29. *dicendi exercitatio*] lit. 'training in speech'; translate 'that readiness of speech which was always his strong point.'

31. *manifesti atque deprehensi*] more deliberate and forcible than *manifesto deprehensi*.

32. *improbitas*] 'depravity,' or 'recklessness.' Dr. Reid in a note on Pro Sulla 65, l. 10 says the word *improbis* implies the utter absence of any restraining principle. Hence Vergil's *improbis anser* (G. 1, 119) is 'the immoderate' or 'greedy goose.'

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12 4. *ita*] there is no need to supply *scriptae*. *Ita* often in Cicero stands with or without *sum* in the sense of *talis*, e.g. pro Sulla 7, 22 *nam si ita sum* (sc. *peregrinus*) *non tam est admirandum regem esse quam* *quis sim*] for Sallust's version of this letter see Introd. 22 and note on p. xxx. Prof. Wilkins, in his edition of the Catilines, thinks that Cicero's is the genuine version, as it betrays haste and careless composition, in the repetition of *cura*, the position of *scies*, and the abruptness of *quid tibi sit necesse*. If this is so, Sallust has improved on the original.

7. *infimorum*] the slave population.

9. *insimulabant*] 'alleged'; the word is more often used of false charges.

13 10. *cum...tum*] lit. while...so also, i.e. 'not only...but also.'
certissima] 'most convincing'—note the hyperbole in *multo certiora*.

13. *obstupuerant*] 'so suddenly were they struck dumb,' for the pluperfect see note on 2, 8, l. 12.

14. *sic furtim...inter sese aspicebant*] 'such furtive glances did they keep exchanging.' For other examples of *inter se*, cf. Caesar *inter se contingunt*; *inter se fidem dant*; and *nostri cohortati inter se*.

17. *expositis atque editis*] cf. II, l. 21. From the pro Sulla 14, 40—44 we learn what pains Cicero took, not only to have the evidence of the Allobroges taken down in the senate and by senators, but also to spread copies of the information throughout Italy and the provinces.

18. *de summa re publica*] 'in a matter concerning the very existence of the republic,' see note on I, 14, l. 21.

19. *principibus*] 'our leading statesmen,' the consuls designate and *consulares* whose opinion would be asked. See note on senatorial procedure I, 9, l. 18.

14 23. *verbis amplissimis*] 'in most flattering terms.'

quod...sit liberata] in this and the succeeding *quod* clauses the subjunctive is used because Cicero is giving the grounds for the senate's action, and is not stating the grounds as facts.

Notice the double ablative use 'released from great peril by my courage, counsel, and foresight.'

26. *forti fidelique*] best taken as predicative, 'I had found their

services vigorous and loyal'; cf. 2, 18, l. 18. For *utor* in another and idiomatic sense, see l. 9 of this section *ea lenitate senatus est usus* 'showed.'

27. *collegae meo*] C. Antonius Hybrida, for whom see Introd. 13 and 14.

28. *laus impertitur*] 'praise is bestowed'; *impertire* is a favourite word with Cicero, he uses it with *consilium*, *dolorem*, *tempus* etc.

29. *removisset*] 'for having dissociated the conspirators from his counsels'; *remove* in a metaphorical sense is often difficult to translate; *ab Hermone remove* 'to dismiss from one's conversation,' *remoto ioco* 'jesting apart,' occur in Cicero.

30. *cum se praetura abdicasset*] the regular expression is *se magistratu abdicare*, as here; but *magistratum abdicare* is also found.

A magistrate could not be punished while he held his office; nor could he by any law be deprived of his office; he could only be made to resign. Plutarch (Cic. 19) says 'he laid down his office, put off his purple robe (*toga praetexta*), and donned another more suitable to his distress.'

31. *in custodiam traderetur*] 'should be given in charge' to some responsible person. *Libera custodia* (ἀδεσμος φυλακή Plutarch translates it) is meant. See note on 1, 19, l. 16.

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1. *L. Cassium*] a senator, mentioned in 9, l. 20.

procuratorem] the business, task, = *negotium* or *provinciam*.

2. *M. Ceparium*] a native of Tarvacina; Sallust (Cat. 47) says he fled from Rome, but was arrested almost immediately and handed over with the others *in liberam custodiam*. His duty was to stir up the shepherds of Apulia, that is the slaves who drove the sheep up to the hills in summer, and down to the plains in winter.

eui] goes with *attributam esse*.

4. *P. Furium*] mentioned by Sallust with P. Umbrenus and Q. Annius in Cat. 50, 4. He was a Sullan veteran and colonist.

5. *deduxit*] *deducere* is the technical word for leading forth or conducting a colony to a place. The Roman *colonia* marched out in military style, *sub vexillo*. For the military character of the *colonia* see note on 2, 24, l. 3.

7. *versatus*] see note on 1, 10, l. 7.

P. Umbrenum] see Introd. 22; Sallust, Cat. 40, 2 says he was

chosen as a go-between because *in Gallia negotiatus erat, plerisque principibus civitatum notus erat atque eos noverat.*

11. *novem*] including the absentees.

poena] 'by the punishment.' The question of penalty was not to be decided till December 5th, but it appears that Cicero had already made up his mind.

12. *sanari posse*] 'might be restored to reason,' for the metaphor cf. 2, 14, l. 22 *quae sanari poterunt, quacumque ratione sanabo.*

15 13. *supplicatio*] either, as here, a solemn thanksgiving to the Gods for victory, or a rite of prayer and expiation on occasions of national misfortune, such as defeat or pestilence. It was decreed by the senate, and the name of the victor was associated with the decree (*meo nomine decreta est*). Supplications of 15 and 20 days are mentioned by Caesar as being voted in honour of his victories over the Belgae and Vercingetorix. One of the features of the *supplicatio* was a *lectisternium* or banquet to the Gods. See note on *pulvinaria* 23, l. 9.

15. *togato*] see note on 2, 28, l. 27.

16. *quod*] cf. supra, note on 14, l. 23.

17. *si...conferatur, hoc interest*] an irregular conditional sentence, cf. 2, 25, l. 10 *si...velimus...possumus.*

19. *bene gesta*] *gerere rem publicam* usually refers to the conduct of public affairs, the work of government, but the frequent association of *bene gerere* with war suggests the contrast which Cicero never tires of. 'Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war.' So Phil. 14, 24 *nam mihi consuli supplicatio nullis armis sumptis, non ob eadem hostium, sed ob conservationem civium...decreta est.*

20. *quod faciendum primum fuit*] 'which had first to be done.'

21. *factum atque transactum est*] a legal formula.

23. *civis*] sc. *ius*.

24. *religio*] 'a scruple,' because all magistrates were supposed to be chosen under the sanction and with the guidance of the gods.

quae...ea] the relative clause is placed first, as often in Latin (cf. note on 2, 29, l. 11). The order is *ut nos liberaremur ea religione quae religio...non fuerat quo minus occideretur.*

25. *C. Glauciam*] see note on 1. 4, l. 13 and l. 15. Marius took no direct part in the killing of his friends.

26. *nominatim*] 'expressly,' as in the case of Lentulus and the others.

27. *privato*] on resigning his office he became at once *privatus*.

16 30. *comprehensos tenetis*] cf. 1, 1, l. 8 *constrictam teneri.*

31. *debetis*] 'you are bound to regard all Catiline's forces... as having collapsed.' For *concidisse* cf. 2, 5, l. 3.

33. *cum...pellebam*] followed by *providebam*; two clauses of identical time duration. See notes on 1, 21, l. 14, and 2, 1, l. 16. /

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2. *P. Lentuli somnium*] *somnus* here implies 'sleepiness,' and the phrase *Lentuli somnium* 'the sleepy Lentulus.' Horace in Sat. 2, 1, 72 speaks of *virtus Scipiadæ et mitis sapientia Laeti*.

1. *Cassi adipes*] 'fat'; this Cassius had not 'a lean and hungry look.'

3. *C. Cethegi...temeritatem*] see Introd. 19 and cf. note on 6, l. 22.

4. *ex istis omnibus*] 'out of all that crew' gives the contemptuous force of *istis*.

5. *omnium aditus tenebat*] 'every door was open to him.' For Catiline's remarkable power of being all things to all men, see the passage quoted from the pro Caelio in a note on p. xiv of the Introduction.

For *aditus* cf. de Imp. Cn. Pomp. 14, 41 *faciles aditus ad eum privatorum*, of Pompey's being easy of access.

6. *appellare*] 'to accost,' or 'address.'

8. *iam*] 'further,' 'moreover,' not 'already.'

certas] 'definite,' or 'specified'; translate *certos* by the same word.

9. *discriptos*] 'marked,' 'told off,' cf. 1, 9, l. 23 *discripsisti urbis partes ad incendia*.

10. *cum...mandarat...putabat*] 'he did not think that, whenever he gave an order, the thing was done.' *Cum* with the pluperfect indicative in Cicero and Caesar expresses indefinite frequency or repeated action; it is always followed by the imperfect indicative; e.g. *cum rosam viderat, ver adesse arbitrabatur*. In later Latin the subjunctive is used, probably from analogy with the Greek optative.

11. *quod non ipse obiret*] 'which he did not personally attend to'; cf. *obire negotium*. The verbs following *obiret* are constructed with *quod* by analogy.

17 13. *hunc...tam acrem*] cf. note on 1, 21, l. 10.

14. *tam in perditis rebus diligentem*] 'so painstaking in mischief.'

15. *domesticis*] so with *bellum* of 'intestine' or 'civil' war. Here

the contrast is between plots *within* the city walls, and the brigandage of camps *outside*.

16. *dicam id quod sentio*] 'I will say what I think.'

18. *Saturnalia*] he would not have waited till then. See note on 10, l. 31.

19. *tanto ante*] 'so long beforehand.'

20. *neque commisisset ut*] see note on 1, 20, l. 4. 'He would not have so acted that...', or 'He would not have made the mistake of letting his sea, etc.... be seized.'

24. *in re publica*] corresponding to *in privata domo*.

27. *ut levissime dicam*] 'to say the least.' This parenthetic use of *ut* final should be noticed: the principal clause is left by the speaker or writer to be supplied from the context; cf. *ut ita dicam*; *ut cetera omittam*; and 18, l. 6, where there is a whole series of such clauses.

28. *dimicandum...fuisset*] 'we should have had to fight.' Usually *fuit* is used in this construction, according to the rule that verbs and expressions denoting necessity, duty or possibility, when used in the apodosis of an impossible condition, are put in the past tenses of the indicative instead of the subjunctive; e.g. de Imp. Pomp. 50 *si Romae privatus esset hoc tempore* (sc. *Pompeius*), *tamen is erat deligendus*.

30. *tanta pace*] this and the following ablatives are ablatives of attendant circumstances, and must be distinguished from *tantis periculis*, the perils from which the state has been delivered.

18. 33. *nutu*] = *numine*, by the nod, that is the will. The attribution of the nod of assent or decree to the Deity is best illustrated by Homer's famous lines, *Iliad* 1, 528—30, where Zeus gives his assent to the prayer of Thetis, and in the version of Pope 'all Olympus trembled at his nod.'

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2. *conjectura consequi*] 'to conjecture'; for *cum...tum* see 13, l. 10.

humani consilii] 'within the scope of human counsel'; cf. *cuiusvis est errare* 'any man may err,' 'it is any man's (liability) to err.'

3. *esse potuisse*] 'could have been.'

4. *praesentes*] see notes on 2, 19, l. 33, and 2, 29, l. 8. The idea of manifest interposition is obvious here.

6. *ab occidente*] the unlucky quarter; *faces*, meteors, shooting-stars.

9. *tam multa*] predicative, 'in such numbers.'

10. **canere]** the technical word for prophesy, due to the fact that oracles were written in verse, the oldest form of literature, and also to the droning chant with which they were delivered by the soothsayers. Vergil often uses the word in this sense, e.g. Aen. 3, 114, *et mihi iam multi crudelē canebant | artificis scelus et taciti ventura videbant.*
11. **neque praetermittendum neque relinquendum]** *praetermittere* is to pass by perhaps unintentionally, *relinquere* to omit deliberately. Richter and Eberhard quote de Off. 3, 9 *negant eum locum a Panaetio praetermissum, sed (dicunt) consulo relictum.*
- 19 12. **Cotta et Torquato coss.]** 65 B.C., see Introd. 9.
13. **de caelo esse percussas]** the regular phrase for 'struck by lightning.'
14. **simulacra deorum depulsa]** Dio Cassius 37, 9, 1 mentions especially a statue of Jupiter: *καὶ ἀγάλματα ἄλλα τε καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κλονος ἰδρυμένον.*
15. **legum aera]** bronze tablets on which laws were engraved. *Aera* is used in the poets for *signa*, statues of bronze, cf. Verg. Aen. 6, 847 *excudent alii spirantia mollius aera.*
16. **tactus]** 'struck.' The bronze group of the wolf with the infants Romulus and Remus: probably the identical image still preserved in the Capitoline Museum.
19. **haruspices]** see note on 9, l. 23. It is clear from this passage that Etruria was still the headquarters of the science.
20. **legum inturritum]** 'the lapse of laws.' Cf. 'Red ruin and the breaking up of laws.'
21. **civile ac domesticum]** rhetorical amplification, so in 2, 28, l. 26 *intestinum ac domesticum.*
23. **omni ratione]** see note on *ratio* I, 17, l. 28.
- prope]** with *fata*, 'had turned the course almost of destiny itself.' *Flexissent* in Oratio Obliqua stands for *flexerint* of the Oratio Recta, *adpropinquare* implying the notion of futurity.
- 20 24. **illorum responsis]** the ablative has the force of *ex responsis*, 'in accordance with their verdict.'
27. **in excelso]** 'in a commanding position.' *Excelsum*, the neuter of the adjective, is used as a noun. This use is especially frequent in prepositional phrases, cf. *in medio*, *in extremo*, *in apertis*, *in medium*, *de medio*. See Nägelsbäch, § 21.
28. **contra atque antea fuerat]** reversing its position.
33. **illud]** 'yonder statue,' pointing to the figure which his hearers could see.

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1. *locaverunt*] *locare* to 'put out to contract' (*conducere* to 'under-take a contract, takes a gerundive with the object, like *curo*; cf. *naves aedificandas curavit*).

3. *nobis*] sc. *consulibus*.

21. *hic*] 'herein,' 'in this matter.'

5. *mente captus*] 'bereft of reason,' cf. *oculis, membris captus*, 'maimed in respect of,' and so 'deprived of': cf. too the old use of 'take' in English,

'No fairy takes, no witch hath power to charm.'

9. *et ea per cives*] 'and that through citizens.'

12. *illud*] referring to what follows; cf. 2, 21, l. 2.

praesens] almost = *manifestum*; but with the added idea of timely and present occurrence.

14. *ut*] this second *ut* is connected with *factum esse*.

15. *in aedem Concordiae*] Professor Mayor in a note on Phil. 2, 7, 15 says "the senate always met in a *templum*, i.e. not necessarily an *aedes sacra*, but a place marked out and consecrated by the rules of augural science. Besides the *curia Hostilia* the temples of the forum and Capitol were employed, esp. *templum Concordiae* near the *carcer*, between the forum and Capitol."

22. 19. *quo...maiores sunt odio...digni*] 'wherefore they deserve the greater detestation.'

24. *nimum mihi sumam*] 'I should take too much upon myself.'

non sim ferendus] his pride would be unbearable, or 'insufferable.'

ille, ille] the repetition of a word at the beginning of successive clauses is called *anaphora* by the grammarians.

26. *salvos esse voluit*] cf. 1, 4, l. 23.

27. *voluntatem*] see note on 2, 18, l. 6.

28. *ad...indicia perveni*] 'I arrived at...'

30. *credita*] note that *credere* when it means 'to entrust' governs an accusative of direct object, and can therefore be used in the passive in agreement with a subject of the thing entrusted. When it means 'to believe' it governs a dative, and in prose at any rate should only be used impersonally in the passive.

32. *huc tantae audaciae*] abstract for concrete. Verbs compounded with *ab*, *de*, *ex*, and occasionally *ad* (e.g. *adimo*), are constructed with a dative of the person from whom anything is taken.

consilium] reason, judgment; for the sentiment cf. Horace, Odes 34, 65 *vis consili expers mole ruit sua*.

83. quid vero] see note on 1, 8, l. 32

homines Galli] *homines* makes *Galli* more emphatic. The orator is no doubt thinking of the warlike instincts of the race; cf. Sall. Cat. 40, 2 *quod natura gens Gallica bellicosa esset*.

There is also a touch of contempt in *homines*, just as Demosthenes in the Olynthiacs speaks of Philip as Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ, and ἄνθρωπος.

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2. facere] depends upon both *posse* and *non nolle*.

3. rerum maximarum] 'the greatest advantages,' see note on res 2, 6, l. 23.

6. praesertim qui] or *qui praesertim*, 'especially' as they (the Allobroges).

23 9. pulvinaria] cf. Horace, Odes 1, 37, 2 *nunc Saliaribus ornare pulvinar deorum | tempus erat dapibus, sodales*. The *pulvinar* was a cushioned couch on which the images of the gods were laid, and food set before them. The custom was no doubt of Greek origin, and was first ordained by the Sibylline books (so Livy tells us in 5, 13) in 399 B.C. The ceremony was called *lectisternium*. Originally it seems to have been an expiatory rite, but in later times it was associated with occasions of thanksgiving, especially with the *supplicatio*, for which see note on 15, l. 13.

celebratote] the future imperative is used, in legal statements and in ordinary speech, of actions not necessarily immediate but to be accomplished after an interval of time: e.g. *bacillum propter me, quo abigam, volucres et feras ponitote*, i.e. when I am dead. Cic. Tusc. 1, 43, 104.

11. iusti...ac debiti] 'right and due,' or better as adverbs in English 'rightly and duly.'

14. togati] 'as civilians,' in apposition to the subject of *vicistis*.

24 17. quas audistis] *de quibus* is more usual, but cf. de Imp. Pomp. 11, 29 *quos aut vidimus aut audivimus*.

18. P. Sulpicium] R. Sulpicius Rufus, a distinguished orator. As tribune of the plebs in 88 B.C. he proposed the transference of the command against Mithridates from Sulla to Marius. Sulla marched upon Rome (see Introd. 1) and drove out his enemies. Sulpicius, who had fled with Marius, was dragged from his hiding-place in a villa,

and killed. Marius hid in the marshes and after hair's-breadth escapes reached Africa.

19. *custodem huius urbis*] 'guardian' or 'preserver of this city.' By his great victories over the Teutones and Cimbri, he undoubtedly saved Rome from destruction.

21. *Cn. Octavius*] consul in 87 B.C.; he drove out his colleague L. Cornelius Cinna, who was trying to revive the project of Sulpicius for distributing the new citizens (Italians) and freedmen through all the thirty-five tribes. In the fighting through the forum and the streets 10,000 are said to have fallen.

23. *redundavit*] belongs in sense to *sanguine*, 'ran with blood,' and can only be taken by zeugma with *acervis corporum*, 'was heaped with dead bodies.' *Hic locus* is of course the forum.

superavit postea Cinna cum Mario] Cinna on being driven from Rome appealed to the Italians, whose cause he had championed, recalled Marius, and at the head of an army besieged Rome. He soon 'got the upper hand' (*superavit*), and Octavius was one of the first to fall in the massacre of the Optimates which followed. Among other illustrious victims (*virī clarissimi*) were Antonius the orator, L. Caesar, Catulus the colleague of Marius in his Cimbrian campaign, and the Pontifex Maximus, Q. Mucius Scaevola.

24. *lumina civitatis*] *lumen* is used here as we occasionally use 'luminary' or 'star' of a distinguished person. Trans. 'the glory of the state was darkened.'

25. *ultus est*] for Sulla's revenge see note on proscription, 2, 21, l. 29.

huius victoriae crudelitatem] = 'this cruel victory.'

26. *ne dici quidem*] *ne...quidem* does not necessarily mean 'not even.' Here it is simply an emphatic negative, 'there is indeed no need to relate,' implying, it is enough to remember in silence.

quanta deminutione] sc. *ultus sit*.

28. *M. Lepidus*] M. Aemilius Lepidus was consul in 78 B.C. Immediately after Sulla's death he tried his hand at revolution. But the time was not ripe for the overthrow of Sulla's work, and Lepidus, though he secured an army, was easily crushed by his colleague Catulus near the Mulian Bridge.

Q. Catulo] the son of the Catulus who with Marius conquered the Cimbri.

25 30. *tamen*] 'yet,' serious though these revolutions were.

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1. **conflagrare**] intransitive, 'should be in flames'; cf. I, 29, l. 5.*
4. **reconciliatione concordiae**] 'by the reestablishment of harmony.'
5. **post lominum memoriam**] 'within the memory of man.'
7. **barbaria**] abstract for concrete, 'horde of barbarians.'
11. **tantum civium**] 'just so many citizens,' and no more.
12. **restitisset**] from *resto* not from *resisto* here: the remnant left over from the slaughter. So in Verg. Aen. I, 679 *dona ferens, pelago et flammis restantia Troiae*, on which Conington remarks *pelago et flammis* is probably the dative (*restare* being constructed like *superesse*), not the ablative.
15. **quibus pro tantis rebus**] 'in return for these great achievements.'
- 26 16. **praemium virtutis...insigne honoris**] 'reward of virtue... outward badge of honour': *honoris* is attributive. Cicero is probably thinking of some distinctive dress, such as the *toga picta*, which Pompey afterwards was privileged to wear on special occasions.
19. **triumphos**] a rhetorical flourish: cf. 4, 23, l. 7.
20. **condi et collocari**] 'to be treasured up in your hearts.'
21. **mutum...tactum**] *mutum* is that which cannot speak, *tactum* that which can, but does not.
23. **nostrae res alentur**] 'my achievements shall be cherished.'
25. **eandem diem.. propagatam esse**] transl. 'and that a similar lease of life has been secured.' See note on *dies* I, 24, l. 16. For *propagare* cf. 2, 11, l. 13.
27. **duos cives**] himself and Pompey. For Pompey's Eastern conquests see Introd. 2.
29. **caeli regionibus**] cf. Aen. I, 287 *nascitur...Caesar | imperium Oceanū, famam qui terminet astris*, and 4, 21, l. 17.
32. **condicio**] see note on 3, 2, l. 10. A difficult sentence to translate, especially as *fortuna atque condicio* apply first to Cicero's achievements, and then to achievers (*illorum*)—the wagers of foreign wars. Translate, 'But since the circumstances and conditions of my achievements differ from the circumstances and conditions of those who have waged foreign wars.'

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3. **reliquerunt**] 'have left behind them.'
3. **recte**] with *prosumt*. Note *sua*, and cf. 2, 10, l. 24 with note on *hunc si secuti erunt sui comites*.

3. *quando*] = *aliquandō*, especially after *num*, *si*, or *ne*.

10. *dignitas*] 'prestige,' 'authority,'—the weight of public opinion will protect him: cf. 4, 20, l. 3.

magna vis conscientiae] 'great the power of a good conscience,' i.e. the feeling that he has done his duty and saved the state.

12. *se ipsi indicabunt*] 'will betray their own disloyalty,' not so much by disregarding Cicero's *conscientia*, as by wishing to do him harm. In other words *quam qui neglegunt* is subordinate and almost parenthetical to *nam me violare volent*, with which *se ipsi indicabunt* is in thought more closely connected. Transl. and those who disregard this, will...by their desire...betray.'

28 16. *se in me unum converterit*] 'is concentrated on me alone.'

17. *qua condicione...eos esse*] 'what you intend to be the lot of those,' see note on 3, 2, l. 10.

19. *ad vitae fructum*] not 'as regards the enjoyment of life,' but 'as regards the rewards of life,' i.e. all that makes life honourable, worth living.

20. *cum praesertim*] or *praesertim cum*, means either, as here, 'especially as,' or 'and that though.' In the first case it confirms, in the second it contrasts. As an example of the second use take de Div. 2, 142 (quoted by Madvig on de Fin. 2, 25, the *locus classicus* on the usage) *nec tam multum dormiens ullo somnio sum admonitus, tantis praesertim de rebus*, where *praesertim* implies that he expected to be warned, but was not.

honore] distinction of office, see note on 1, 28, l. 32.

29 24. *ornem*] 'add lustre to.'

26. *in re publica*] 'in my public life,' 'as a statesman.'

tractabo] *me tractare* is unusual, but = *me gerere* or *versari*.

29. *est nox*] see Introd. 24.

33. *providebo*] the last word of the speech perhaps hints at the execution of the conspirators, which Cicero, in spite of his wavering, seems to have had steadily in view from the time of their arrest, cf. 14, l. 11 and note on *poena*.

ORATIO QUARTA.

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- 1 3. de vestro ac rei publicae] sc. periculo.
 si id depulsum sit] the subjunctive expresses uncertainty, 'if that should be averted.'
5. iucunda...grata] iucunda [that which gives pleasure, grata that which deserves thanks; 'pleasant and grateful.' For the distinction cf. ad Att. 3, 24 ista veritas etiam si iucunda non est, mihi tamen grata est.
6. voluntas] 'good-will,' almost = 'sympathy' here. See note on 2, 18, l. 6.
8. condicio] i.e. if the consulship was given to me on these terms. For condicio see note on 3, 2, l. 10.
11. meis laboribus] with pariat, 'may be secured by my efforts.' Or if the metaphor of pario is kept up, 'that honour and safety for Rome may be the result of my travail.'
- 2 13. 'forum, in quo omnis aequitas continetur] 'the forum, wherein all justice is centred,' alluding to the law-courts which adjoined the forum.
- For the collocation of forum, campus, curia see note on 2, 1, l. 14.
14. consularibus] because the chief duty of the Comitia Centuriata was the election of consuls.
- auspiciis consecratus] the Comitia Centuriata could meet only outside the pomerium, i.e. the free space on the inner and outer sides of the city wall. The usual meeting place was in the Campus Martius. An essential preliminary was the taking of the auspices by the chief magistrate, who, accompanied by an augur, went out on the morning of the election and marked off a templum or sacred enclosure for the purpose. If the auspices were unfavourable, no election could be held. Hence the word consecratus.
15. commune] shared by all who have homes

16. *lectus*] see 1, 10, l. 28.

18. *multa tacui*] see note on 3, 5, l. 1.

19. *meo quodam dolore*] *quodam* has a modified force, 'in a sense through my pain.'

in vestro timore] 'in your panic,' i.e. 'while you were panic-stricken'; cf. 2, 18, l. 3 *magno in aere alieno*. There is a contrast between *dolor* and *timor*.

22. *virginesque Vestales*] for the veneration in which Vesta and her priestesses were held, cf. 18, l. 9 *illum ignem Vestae sempiternum*.

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5. *fatale ad*] 'ordained by fate for,' see 3, 9, l. 26, and cf. Livy 5, 19, 2 *fatalis dux ad excidium illius urbis M. Furius Camillus*. Horace in Odes 1, 37, 21 calls Cleopatra *fatale monstrum*.

7. *prope*] as if *fatalem* were too egotistic: Cicero however does not shrink from egotism, and *prope* distinctly weakens the sentence. Richter and Eberhard conjecture that the word crept in from the abbreviation *P. R.* of the preceding *populi Romani*.

exstitisse] 'has stood out as,' stronger than *evenisse*, 'has proved.'

3 10. *mihi parcere*] 'to consider me.' Cicero means he must take full responsibility: at the same time the whole tenour of his speech shows by what conflicting feelings he was torn. See Introd. 26.

12. *qui huic urbi praesident*] 'who watch over this city.'

pro eo ac merore] 'in proportion to my deserts.'

13. *si quid obtigerit*] 'if anything happens,' the usual euphemism, cf. *si quid acciderit*.

15. *neque immatura consulari*] *consulari*, because his term of office was nearly over. There is a fine reminiscence of this phrase at the end of that *divina Philippica*, in which, a few months before his death, he reviews and defends his public life, *Etenim si abhinc annos prope viginti hoc ipso in templo negavi posse mortem immaturam esse consulari, quanto verius nunc negabo seni!* Phil. 2, 46, 119.

16. *sapienti*] 'to a philosopher.'

ille ferreus, qui...] 'the man of iron,' i.e. 'of such iron heart as not to be moved.' The relative with the subjunctive has a consecutive force. For *ferreus* cf. Tibullus 1, 10:

Quis fuit horrendos primus qui protulit enses?

Quam ferus et vere ferreus ille fuit!

17. *fratris*] Q. Cullius Cicero, best known for his military services

in Gaul, as a *legatus* to Caesar. In the great rising of 54 B.C. he defended his winter quarters with great gallantry against the Eburones. He fell in the proscriptions of 43 along with his greater brother.

18. *lacrime*] the Greeks and Romans gave way to their emotions in a manner that seems strange to the nations of the North. We must remember that such sensibility was not inconsistent in their case with the sterner virtues. In the *Iliad* Menelaus is slightly wounded by a treacherous arrow. He shudders at the sight of the blood, and Agamemnon joins with him in lamentation.

19. 'neque...non} the double negative is not usual in English, except in such expressions as 'nor am I unaware...', 'nor is it without hesitation that...', in which case the second negative is disguised. Milton, whose English is often charged with Latinity, does not hesitate to use it with effect as in P. L. 1, 335:

'Nor did they not perceive the evil plight

In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel.'

20. *uxor*] Terentia. She was a woman of good family, and of resolute character. Plutarch, in his life of Cicero, says she had her ambitions and took a greater share with her husband in politics than she permitted him to have in domestic matters. On the present occasion she is said to have strengthened his wavering resolution against the conspirators.

She had two children by him, the son and daughter who are mentioned in this passage. The daughter Tullia, her father's favourite, died in 45 B.C. The son, at this time two years old, escaped the proscriptions, and fought under Brutus and Sextus Pompeius against Octavian, but was afterwards favourably received. He was Consul in 30 B.C., and in his official capacity received the first tidings of the victory of Actium, and the death of his father's great enemy M. Antonius.

abiecta metu] see note on 3, 10, l. 9.

22. *obsidem*] that he has a son to inherit his name, is a pledge that he will do his duty by the State, in order that the inheritance may be untarnished. If he falls a victim to duty, the State will do its part in providing for his child; see 23, l. 18 *commendo vobis parvum meum filium*.

24. *gener*] C. Calpurnius Piso, the first husband of Tullia. He was quaestor in 58 B.C., and in that year took an active part in working for Cicero's recall from exile. He was too young at this time to be a senator, and the words in *conspectu meo* must mean that he was standing by the open door of the Temple, probably among the equites

who were guarding the approaches; cf. I, 21, l. 19, where it is plain that the senators assembled in the Temple of Jupiter Stator can hear the cries of the crowd outside.

in eam partem] lit. 'in that direction,' i.e. 'to the end that...', and cf. the phrases *in utramque partem*, and *in optimam partem accipere*, from which our 'to take in good part' is derived.

26. una] 'in one and the same,' i.e. 'in the common ruin.'

4 27. incumbite] 'throw yourselves into,' cf. de Imp. Pomp. 7, 19 *ad id bellum incumbere*, and Verg. Aen. 5, 15 *colligere arma iubet validisque incumbere remis*.

30. quod iterum trib. pl. fieri voluit] the cause of his death was the violent opposition of the nobles to his schemes for agrarian reform. Re-election to the tribunate was no doubt unconstitutional, but it was his only chance of carrying on the work he had begun.

Irregular elections and re-elections to the consulate were frequent in Roman history. For Cicero's attitude to the Gracchi see note on I, 4, l. 11.

31. agrarios] the plebs who supported his agrarian measures, and desired a redistribution of the *ager publicus*.

32. C. Memmum] tribune in 111 B.C.; he opposed the oligarchical party at Rome during the Jugurthine war, but afterwards sided with them against Saturninus and Glaucia. He stood for the consulship in 100, and was publicly murdered by the hired ruffians of his opponents. His death was the signal for the riots in which Saturninus and Glaucia were killed.

discrimen] sc. *capitis*, 'peril of his life.'

33. in vestra severitatis iudicium] 'under the ban of your sternest sentence.'

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3. manus] see note on 3, 10, l. 11.

5. accersitur] see note on 3, 6, l. 21.

id] emphatic, 'of such a nature that...'

5 9. iudiciis] *haec iudicavistis*, sc. *ita se habere: iudiciis iudicare* 'to decide by decisions,' an expression of legal formality. Cicero wishes to be precise. The decision of the senate was implied first in the *ultimum decretum*, secondly in the declaration of Catiline and Manlius as public enemies. See Introd. 16, 21 and 28. Cicero goes on to specify the other *iudicia* implied in the votes and rewards of the senate.

10. singularibus verbis] 'in terms without parallel.'

16. **supplicationem**] see note on 3, 15, l. 13.

togato] see note on 2, 28, l. 27.

17. **praemia**] we learn from Sallust, Cat. 30, 6, that the senate had offered to any slave who should give information, freedom and 100,000 sesterces; to a freeman *impunitatem et sestertia ducenta*.

19. **omnia**] sc. *iudicia*.

20. **nominatim**] Sallust, Cat. 47, 4, gives the full list. *Itaque Lentulus P. Lentulo Spintheri, qui tum aedilis erat, Cethegus Q. Cornificio, Statilius C. Caesari, Gabinius M. Crasso, C. Marius—nam is paulo ante ex fuga retractus erat—Cn. Terentio senatores induuntur.*

21. **videantur**] not 'may seem,' but in the stronger sense, 'may be seen.'

6 22. **institutui**] 'it was my purpose.'

23. **tamquam integrum**] see note on 3, 7, l. 30. *Integrum* here is predicative to the two noun clauses, *quid iudicetis* and *quid censeatis*. In paragraph 5 Cicero has implied that the senate by its previous decisions has already passed sentence on the conspirators. He now checks himself, and wishes the matter to be regarded as an open question (*res integra*).

24. **illa praedicam**] 'I will only say first what it is my duty as consul to say.'

25. **versari**] see note on 1, 10, l. 11.

26. **nova quaedam misceri...mala**] our colloquial phrase 'mischief is brewing' gives the force of *mala misceri*.

27. **hanc tantam**] see note on 1, 11, l. 10.

28. **ovibus**] in emphatic position.

29. **inclinant**] here a neuter vb.: it is also used transitively.

30. **est**] the unusual ending of the sentence with the monosyllable *est* separated from *statuendum*, gives a peculiar and abrupt emphasis, which is carried on by the short clauses which follow.

31. **adfinēs**] 'implicated in...'

32. **latius opinione**] = *latius quam opinio est disseminatum esse*. This terse idiom is confined to a few similar expressions, e.g. *opinione celerius*, *gravius aequo*, *spe serius*, *plus iusto*, and in poetry *solito citius*.

33. **manavit**] 'it has spread,' the metaphor is from overflowing water.

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1. **transcendit Alpes**] by the attempt to enlist the Allobroges.

multas iam provincias] this is mainly rhetorical exaggeration, but

see Sallust, Cat. 31, 3 *esse in Hispania citeriore Pisonem, in Mauretania cum exercitu P. Sittium Nucerinum, consili sui participes*. And, 42 *isdem fere temporibus in Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore, item in agro Piceno, Bruttio, Apulia, motus erat*.

2. *sustentando*] used absolutely here; *rem sustentare* is 'to put thing off.'

3. *quacumque ratione*] see note on 1, 17, l. 28. With *placet* supply *vindicare* or *vindicari*.

7 5. *D. Silas*] consul designate, see Introd. 25; and note on 1, 9, l. 18, Senatorial procedure, much of which has a bearing on this passage.

6. *haec*] see note on 1, 21, l. 22.

8. *removet*] for *removendam esse censet*, cf. l. 28 *circumdat*, just as we might say by hyperbole, 'he surrounds them,' for the tamer 'he proposes to surround them.'

amplectitur] an asyndeton, but in antithesis to *removet*. The asyndeton may be kept in translation or, 'it is true... but...' supplied.

9. *pro sua dignitate*] *pro* 'in proportion to,' or 'according to,' transl. 'as his high position and the magnitude of the crisis require.'

10. *in summa severitate versatur*] lit. 'busies himself in the sphere of,' 'deals in measures of extreme severity.' See note on *versari*, 1, 10, l. 7.

15. *recordatur*] 'remembers,' that is to say 'recalls' in his speech: so *intellegit* in the next line, 'understands,' i.e. 'is of opinion.'

18. *laborum...quietem*] Sallust puts into Cicero's mouth the words *possum equidem dicere...in luctu atque miseriis mortem adrumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse*. Cat. 51, 20.

20. *vincula...sempiterna*] 'imprisonment and that for life,' for *et ea* cf. 3, 21, l. 9 *et ea per cives*.

21. *singularem*] 'exceptional.'

municipiis] in early times the inhabitants of a *municipium* possessed the private but not the public rights of Roman citizens. They managed their own local affairs, and were *cives Romani* without the right of voting or holding public office. After the Social War the Italian towns received the full franchise.

22. *habere*] 'to involve.'

iniquitatem] because Rome by distributing the prisoners among the *municipia* would be imposing an unfair responsibility.

8 27. *adiungit*] 'he imposes further a heavy penalty'; cf. 10, l. 6. *eorum*] depends upon *quis*.

32. **prodigum**] adjective for noun. Nägelsbach, § 25, quotes from *pro* Murena 3, 7 *quod esset aut ab amico aut a gratioso aut a consule postulandum.*

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4. **se iactare**] 'to advertise himself' is the modern equivalent: *supplicio levando*, 'by alleviating his penalty.'

in perniciē] 'in the destruction' i.e. 'through the destruction.' Another reading is *in perniciem*, 'to the ruin of...'

11 9. **sive hoc statueritis**] 'if you decide for Cæsar's view.'

10. **comitem ad contionem**: 'you will give me for a colleague in my address to the people, the people's favourite.'

contio (*conventio*) was a meeting of the people, or a speech delivered to such a meeting. A *contio* could be convened by any magistrate, especially a consul or tribune, who wished to influence or instruct the people. Such a meeting had no voting power, but public opinion was largely guided by *contiones*. Just as Cicero in the Third Catilinarian takes the people into his confidence, and gives them full details of what had occurred in the Senate, so no doubt he would put them in possession of the facts of the debate in which the fate of the conspirators was decided. If Caesar's view were adopted, he would call upon Caesar to address the *contio*. The word is also used of a military assembly convened by a general in the field.

12. **populo**] dative: 'in the eyes of the people.'

13. **obtinebo**] 'I will maintain that our cruelty has been far too lenient.' For this sense of *obtinere* cf. Verr. 2, 3, 71 *possumus hoc teste.. quod dicimus, obtinere.*

15. **de meo sensu**] 'by my own feelings.'

16. **ita...liceat, ut...non moveor**] literally 'so may I be permitted... as I am not moved....' A favourite form of asseveration in Latin, the truth of the statement made in the *ut* clause is the condition on which the fulfilment of the wish or prayer, in the *ita* clause, depends.

Tennyson uses the figure in the Idylls, The Marriage of Geraint:

'So aid me Heaven when at mine uttermost,
As I will make her truly my true 'wife.'

17. **quod...sum**] 'as to the fact that' = 'in.'

19. **humanitate**] 'feeling of humanity.'

20. **lucem**] cf. note on 1, 6, l. 16.

22. **cerno animo**] 'I see in thought,' or 'in my mind's eye.'

23. *versatur*] 'there rises before my eyes,' cf. note on 1, 10, l. 7.
 24. *furor...bacchantis*] 'his frenzy as he revels.' For *bacchantis* cf. 1, 26, l. 31.
 12 26. *ex fatis*] 'in accordance with the fates,' i.e. his hopes were based on the Sibylline books, for which see note on 3, 9, l. 22.
purpuratum] 'a high official of a king's court,' and so clothed in purple: here sarcastically, 'as his benchman.'
 28. *matrum familias*] the form *familiarum* is also found, but as a rule the old genitive singular is used throughout in combination with *pater* and *mater*.
 30. *misera, atque miseranda*] 'piteous and pitiable,' for the form of the phrase, cf. Livy's *ante conditam condempnare urbem*.
 31. *in eos*] with *severum*, cf. *sacvire in aliquem*.

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4. *ferreus*] cf. 3, l. 16. *importunus* = 'cruel' or 'savage.'
qui non] gives the reason for *ferreus*, 'in that he has not,' or 'for not alleviating his own pain and anguish,' hence the subjunctive *lenierit*.
 5. *nocentis*] the present participle is used with the force of a noun: 'of him who wrongs,' 'the criminal.'
 6. *in his hominibus*] 'in the case of these men,' cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2, 541 *ialis in hoste fuit Priamo*.
 9. *domicillium*] cf. 3, 1, l. 3.
id egerunt ut] see note on *agere*, 1, 8, l. 8.
 10. *deflagrati*] *flagrare* is an intransitive verb, cf. 1, 29, l. 5 *conflagraturum*, and 3, 25, l. 1 *hanc urbem conflagrare*. Nägelsbach, § 97, in discussing the want of a past participle active, quotes this with other instances of intr. vbs. which possess a perfect participle passive, *praeteritus, adultus, desperatus, assuetus*.
 13. *in patriae civiumque pernicie*] the force of *in pernicie* is not quite the same as in 10, l. 5. Here 'the reputation of cruelty must be incurred in the event of the destruction.' Translate 'when our country and our fellow-citizens are being destroyed.'
 14. *fama*] = *infamia*.
 13 L. Caesar] L. Julius Caesar Strabo, consul in 64 B.C., a distant relation of C. Julius Caesar; his sister Julia had married Lentulus as her second husband, having by her first husband, M. Antonius Creticus, become the mother of Marcus Antonius the Triumvir.
 The grandfather of this Caesar was M. Fulvius Flaccus, for whose death see note on 1, 4, l. 13.

16. *lectissimae*] *lectus* choice, excellent, is often used like *ornatus*, *amplus* etc. in the complimentary mention of distinguished personages, cf. the phrase *quem honoris causa nominō*.

18. *iure*] does not occur in the MSS, but is required by the sense.
consulis] L. Opimius.

19. *filium impuberem*] a lad of eighteen, see note on I, 4, l. 12.

20. *quorum quod simile factum* ?] sc. *fuit*. *Quorum*, sc. Fulvius and his son, depends upon *factum* with which *quod* as interrogative-adjective agrees: *simile*, what parallel is there between their conduct and that of the conspirators?

21. *largitionis voluntas*] by largess Cicero means the agrarian proposals of the Gracchi, and especially the cheap corn for the people, a bad precedent, which Gaius Gracchus introduced by his *Lex Frumentaria*.

22. *partium*] *partes* corresponds to our parties in a political sense. For *versata est* cf. note on I, 10, l. 7.

23. *avus Lentuli*] cf. 3, 10, l. 15 and note on the passage.

25. *ne quid...deminueretur*] 'that the vital interests of the State might suffer no disparagement.' For *res publica* see note on I, 14, l. 21, and cf. 3, 12, l. 18.

31. *vereamini censeo*] cf. Sallust, Cat. 52, 26 *misereamini censeo*, 'I am of opinion that you should have pity on them.' The sense in both cases is ironical. For the omission of *ut* cf. ad Fam. 7, 13, 2 *Treviros viles censeo*.

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14 "4. *iaciuntur...voces*] 'remarks are uttered,' or 'hints are thrown out'; for *voces* see note on I, 6, l. 13.

5. *eorum*] depends upon *voces*.

6. *ut habeam*] Allen and Greenough, § 331, give the following explanation of the use of *ne* and *ut* with verbs of fearing. *Timeo ne accidat*, I fear it may happen. Here the *ne* is hortatory in origin, and the expression literally = I fear, let it not happen. *Timeo ut accidat*, 'I fear it may not happen.' Here the *ut* may have been either hortatory or deliberative,—I fear, let it happen, or, I fear: how may it happen? = I hope it will happen, but I fear it will not.

9. *multo maiore*] separated from *voluntate*, by the two final *ad* clauses.

11. *voluntate ad*] cf. 23, l. 14. *diligentia ad conservandam rem publicam*.

12. *omnium ordinum*] Cicero's political ideal was the *concordia ordinum*, see Introd. 13.

13. *plena templa*] See note on *templum* 3, 21, l. 15. The *equites* we may be sure were not inside the temples, which adjoined the forum, but they may well have lined the precincts and the steps. So in Thucydides 6, 61, 4 we read that the Athenians, on a night of invasion, bivouacked under arms for a night in the Theseum, *κατέδαρθον ἐν Θησεῖῳ τῷ ἐν πόλει ἐν ὅπλοις*. The Theseum is one of the smallest Greek temples in existence, and a very large enclosure (*τέμενος*, *templum*) is implied. Cicero often refers to the services on this occasion of the Knights who were posted *cum gladiis in clivo Capitolino* (pro Sest. 12, 28). Atticus took a prominent part, as we learn from ad Att. 2, 1, 7 *equitatus ille quem ego in clivo Capitolino, te signifero ac principe, collocaram*.

15. *sola*] note the emphatic position, by which *sola* is brought into close connection with the relative.

13. *sentirent*] subjunctive, because there is an underlying notion of consequence, *sola in qua*, the only one in which, i.e. the cause was of such a nature that unanimity was possible.

For *unum atque idem sentire* cf. 3, 5, l. 1 and note on *omnia sentire*.

15 21. *qua frequentia*] 'in what crowds.'

24. *qui ita summam ordinis...concedunt*] 'who only yield to you precedence as an order and a deliberative body, that they may vie with you in patriotism.' *Summam* lit. supremacy of rank and counsel. *Ita...ut* = only in so far...as to....

25. *de amore*] as if love were the prize for which they strove. *ex multorum annorum dissensione huius ordinis*] 'after a feud of many years with the senatorial order.' Notice the two genitives, *annorum* attributive, and *ordinis* objective; for the latter cf. Phil. 2, 10, 23 *a Caesaris coniunctione*.

The *dissensio* between Senate and Equites goes back to the Tribune of Gaius Gracchus, who in 123 B.C. transferred the *iudicia*, which had hitherto been a monopoly of the Senate, to the Equites. The whole question turned on the Court which dealt with extortion in the Provinces (*rerum repetundarum quaestio*). Provincial governors were drawn from the senatorial class, the *publicani* who farmed the provincial taxes belonged to the *ordo equester*. The measure of Gracchus simply transferred the work of collusion and corruption, which disgraced the Court, from one body to another, but he sowed, as he

intended, the seeds of dissension between them. Sulla restored the *iudicia* to the Senate. Pompey and Crassus in 70 B.C., by a compromise, divided the jury in criminal cases between senators, equites, and *tribuni aerarii*.

28. *causa*] 'cause,' as we speak of 'the good cause,' 'the cause of our country.'

30. *confirmo vobis*] 'I assure you.'

32. *tribunos aerarios*] there is much doubt as to the real position and functions of these officials. Originally they were connected with the raising of the *tributum*, or war-tax, from the tribes, and were responsible for the payment of the troops. It is conjectured that in the reorganization of the *Comitia Centuriata* in 241 B.C., which is itself one of the obscure points in Roman history, they retained their duties as *curatores* of the 350 centuries then created. In Cicero's time they were clearly ranked as an *ordo*, in close connection with the *equites*, among whom they were by courtesy included. It is probable that they were required to possess a definite *census*, or property qualification.

33. *scribas*] the *scribae* collectively formed an *ordo* of considerable importance. The *scribae ex aerario* controlled the administration of the treasury, and the chief secretaries may be compared to the permanent officials of our public offices.

* Besides their financial work they kept the state archives, and all public records, including the decrees of the senate, passed through their hands. They must be distinguished from the ordinary clerks (*librarii*, *scribae librarii*), many of whom were public slaves.

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1. *aerarium*] the Temple of Saturn and Qps was employed as the seat of the *aerarium* from 497 B.C. until the later times of the Empire. Eight of its Ionic columns still stand on the Clivus Capitolinus, within a stone's throw of the Temple of Concord. Any view of the Forum, looking towards the Capitol, shows them plainly.

frequentasset] transitive, only here in Cicero, 'had brought together in numbers.' The plupf. subjunctive corresponds with *conversos esse*, not of course with *video*.

2. *expectatione sortis*] this was the chance (*casus*) that had brought them together. On the nones of December the Quaestors entered on their office and drew lots in the Aerarium for their Provinces. The quaestorian clerks (*scribae quaestorii*) numbered, since Sulla's reforms,

thirty-six. They were divided into three decuries, and were appointed to their several duties by lot.

2. *esse conversos*] 'have had their attention diverted.'

16 3. *ingenuorum*] 'free-born citizens.' It has been objected that many of the *scribae* were public slaves, but the principal *scribae* must have been *ingenti*.

4. *tenuissimorum*] 'the humblest,' either in rank or means.

6. *cum sit...tum*] the subjunctive is due to *quis est cui non...?* For *cum...tum* see note on 3, 13, l. 10.

8. *libertinorum*] freed men, *liberti*, as a class denoted by *libertini*, which meant in earlier times the sons of enfranchised slaves.

9. *fortunam*] 'the good fortune of citizenship.'

12. *quid ego...commemoro*] paves the way for the climax of *servus* in the scale of *ingenui*, *libertini*, *servi*.

16. *modo*] 'provided that' = *dign modo*.

condicione] see note on 3, 2, l. 10.

17. *haec*] see note on 1, 21, l. 22.

19. *voluntatis*] the genitive depends on the preceding *quantum* repeated with *audet* and *potest*.

For the meaning of *voluntas*, good-will, see note on 2, 18, l. 6. It is in emphatic position here because the words *quantum audet et quantum potest* imply that the slaves necessarily could give little more than good-will to the cause.

17 21. *legonem*] 'agent,' 'emissary,' in a bad sense.

22. *pretio*] 'for money,' cf. *Sall. Cat. 50, 1 opifices atque servitia in vicis ad eum eripiendum sollicitabant, partim exquirebant duces multitudinum, qui pretio rem publicam vexare soliti erant.*

egentium] cf. note on *loquentium* 1, 20, l. 9.

25. *sellae*] the mechanic's work-stool. No doubt the *tabernae* of ancient Rome resembled the shops in the side-streets of modern Florence, which are open to the street, so that the workman can sit at his work and see what passes, or join in gossip at his door.

26. *lectulum*] cf. 1, 10, l. 28.

29. *genus hoc universum*] 'the whole class is passionately devoted to peace.'

32. *sustentatur, alitur*] a good instance of chiasmus, see note on 2, 9, l. 22.

quorum] refers not to *civium*, but to *eorum qui in tabernis sunt*.

33. *tandem*] see note on 1, 1, l. 1.

futurum fuit] = *fuisse*.

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- 18 5. *reservatum*] not merely preserved, but set apart, 'providentially saved,' cf. de Off. 2, 75 *utinam ad illa tempora mi fortuna reservasset.*

9. *manus tendit patria*] cf. 1, 18, l. 1.

10. *arcem et Capitolium*] the Capitoline had two summits, the arx or ancient citadel, and the height crowned by the temple of Jupiter. The Forum lay below, and at its south-western corner stood the temple of Vesta, where the Vestal virgins kept alight the undying fire on the hearth of the State, and cherished the worship of the State *penates*. Within this narrow compass—for the whole of the Forum and its surrounding buildings including the Capitoline does not cover more ground than our Houses of Parliament and Westminster Abbey—was crowded all that Romans held most sacred.

Horace (Odes 3, 5, 1c), when dwelling on the degeneracy of the captives who survived Carthage and were content to lose their nationality and intermarry with their Parthian enemies, exclaims at their forgetting Vesta while the temple of Capitoline Jove still stands—

*ancilliorum et nominis et togæ
oblitus æternæque Vestæ
incolumi Jove et urbe Romæ.*

And what the Forum itself meant to a Roman has never perhaps been more eloquently expressed than by a poet who was no blind lover of classical tradition. Standing on the Capitol, Byron asks

‘Did the conquerors heap
Their spoils here? Yes; and in yon field below
A thousand years of silenced factions sleep—
“The Forum, where the immortal accents glow,
And still the eloquent air breathes—burns with Cicero!”

Childe Harold 4, 112.

- 19 16. *ducem*] Cicero himself.

19. * *in civili causa*] ‘in a constitutional question.’ There is no single word in English that fully represents *civilis*. In the present passage it implies a cause that affects citizens, but it also includes the idea of Cicero’s leadership as *togatus*, dispensing with military aid.

20. *sentientem*] see note on 3, 5, l. 1.

21. *quantis laboribus fundatum...delerit*] *quantis* belongs to *fundatum*, it also belongs to *delerit*. This condensation of two clauses

cannot be reproduced in English. Transl. 'consider how one night has all but destroyed our empire with what toils established etc.'

26. *mihi*] is governed by *præcurritis*, cf. the construction of *antecellere* and *excellere*, pro Mur. 13, 29 *multum isti vestræ exercitationi qd honorem antecellet*. Transl. 'outstrip me in zeal.'

20 30. *sententiam*] the proposal before the House.

33. *suscepisse*] *suscipere* to undertake, and so to incur, a multitude of foes; we should say 'to incur the enmity of as many foes as there are conspirators.'

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2. *alicuius furore et scelere*] Cicero forecasts only too truly the machinations which brought about his exile in 58 B.C.

3. *dignitas*] see note on 3, 27, l. 10.

7. *quanta*] sc. *laude*.

8. *mihi uni conservata re publica*: for this boast, which Cicero never tired of repeating, see 3, 15, l. 19.

9. *gratulationem*] *gratulatio* here = *supplicatio*, for which see note on 3, 15, l. 13.

21. *sit*] this and the following subjunctives are hortatory, with concessive force, 'let Scipio be renowned' = 'granted that he is.' For an example of the negative take Tusc. 2, 14 *ne sit summum malum dolor, malum certe est*.

Scipio] P. Corn. Scipio Africanus, the victor of Zama. After his successes in Spain he obtained with much difficulty a fleet and army from the Senate, who mistrusted his youth (he was only 30), in order to carry the war into Africa. His victories over the Carthaginians and their ally Syphax led to the recall of Hannibal from Italy in 203 B.C. The battle of Zama which brought the Second Punic War to a close, by the defeat of Hannibal, was fought on October 19th, 202.

11. *Italia decedere*] *ex Italia* might be expected. Richter and Eberhard compare *provincia decedere*.

alter...Africanus] P. Corn. Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor: the younger son of Aemilius Paulus. He was adopted by P. Corn. Scipio, the elder son of the great Africanus. He took and destroyed Carthage in 146 B.C., and in 133 B.C. brought a protracted war in Spain to a conclusion by the capture of Numantia.

14. *Paulus ille*] the famous L. Aemilius Paulus, father of the Scipio who destroyed Carthage. In 168 B.C. he ended the Macedonian war by defeating Perses (or Perseus) in the great battle of Pydna.

currum] the triumphal chariot, drawn by four horses. Perseus walked in front, Liv. 45, 40, 6 *Perseus...in datenis ante currum victoris ductus per urbem hostium ductus.*

15. Perses] who graced the car of Aemilius, was the last king of Macedonia. He was also the first captive monarch whose life was spared by his conqueror. The usual custom was to put the principal captives to death in the Tullianum at the foot of the Clivus Capitolinus, before the general ascended the hill to offer sacrifice.

16. bis...liberavit] by his victories over the Teutones and the Cimbri. The Teutones were annihilated at Aquae Sextiae (Aix) in 102, the Cimbri, on the Campi Raudii near Vercellae in 101 B.C.

17. Pompeius] seq. Introd. 2.

18. virtutes] deeds, of valour, the plural of abstract nouns often has a concrete force, cf. *laudes*, and de Imp. Pomp. 22, 65 *libidines et iniurias*, 'acts of lust and injustice.'

eisdem quibus solis cursus] cf. 3, 26, l. 29.

22. habeant, quo victores revertantur] 'may have a country to return to,' the object of *habeant* is the final relative clause *quo...revertantur*; the antecedent to *quo* is usually expressed in English.

23. uno loco] 'in one point,' or 'in one respect.'

condicio] see note on 3, 2, l. 10.

24. alienigenae] the usual Latin for 'foreigners,' the word *hostis*, which originally meant 'stranger,' having lost its old sense.

25. oppressi] 'crushed,' 'conquered.'

23. a perniciē] sc. *inferenda*.

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1. a me] 'from me,' not 'by me.'

3. coniunctionem] Cicero's political ideal of harmony between the orders was realised only for the moment. Two years later he writes to Atticus *credo te audisse nostros equites paene a senatu esse diiunctos*, ad Att. I, 17.

4. conspirationem] occasionally used by Cicero, as here, in a good sense, 'harmony,' cf. de Off. 2, 5, 16 *ut magnas utilitates adipiscimur conspiratione hominum atque consensu*.

23 7. pro provincia quam neglexi] the rich province of Macedonia which he had conceded to his colleague Antonius. See Introd. 14.

9. clientellis hospitibusque provincialibus] It was the custom for provinces and provincial towns to invite some person of influence to

represent their interests at Rome. In some cases a conqueror, in others the founder of a colony, or a just and popular governor, filled the office of *patronus*. The dignity was hereditary. Cicero's relations with the Sicilians illustrate the usage. As quaestor in Sicily he won the respect of the inhabitants for his fairness and moderation, and at their request he prosecuted and secured the conviction of Verres, who as governor had pillaged the island.

It is clear that until the provinces were brought under a strong central power, to which the governors were directly responsible, this custom of becoming the dependents (*clientes*) of a wealthy or influential Roman had its advantages.

11. *tueor*] 'I maintain' old ties of this sort, as well as try to make (*compro*) new ones.

14. *huius temporis*] 'this moment,' or 'this occasion,' on which the fate of the conspirators was hanging.

17. *improborum improbi* the converse of *boni* in a political sense, see note on I, I, l. 5.

19. *filium*] see note on 3, l. 20.

20. *haec omnia*] see note on I, 21, l. 22.

21. *suo solius periculo*] for the idiom of a genitive in apposition to a possessive representing a genitive, cf. *mea solius causa* 'for my sake only,' *nostra omnium patria* 'the common country of us all.'

24 22. *summa salute*] see note on 3, 17, l. 30.

26. *diligenter*] 'deliberately,' with all care and deliberation.

29. *defendere et per se ipsum praestare*] 'to maintain and in his own person to accomplish.'

APPENDIX.

THE text of C. F. W. Müller (Teubner 1896) has been followed in the main throughout this edition. The following is a brief summary of the variations adopted.

- I. 3, l. 19 [omnes iam diu] omitted.
 5, l. 30 vidētis for videmus.
 6, l. 12 coetus for coeptus.
 16, l. 3 [tamen ea carere diutius non potes] omitted after elapsa est, probably a gloss from 24, l. 19 tu ut illa carere diutius possis. Richter and Eberhard.
 28, l. 33 invidiae for invidiam.
 32, l. 14 secernant se a bonis bracketed as probably a gloss from 23, l. 10. Richter and Eberhard.
- II. 3, l. 11 [quam multos, qui propter stultitiam non putarent] omitted after crederent, as a gloss.
 3, l. 12 [quam multos, qui propter improbitatem faverent] omitted after defenderent, as a gloss.
 5, l. 6 suos milites bracketed.
 8, l. 13 [ne] omitted before ullo in angulo. Mommsen.
 19, l. 30 Nohl's reading maximam adesse multitudinem adopted.
 27, l. 10 quia [nati] sunt cives, nati omitted.
- III. 6, l. 11 Allobroges for Allobrogum.
 27, l. 29 [illa Allobrogum sollicitatio, iam] omitted after iam vero.
 24, l. 19 [eiecit ex urbe] omitted after oppressit.
 25, l. 2 Atque illae...diudicatae sint bracketed.

- IV. 2, l. 17 [sella curulis] omitted after ¹sedes honoris.
7, l. 11 [qui p^opulum Romanum] omitted after nos omnes.
8, l. 3 proposita for p^oposita.
12, l. 29 virginum bracketed.
13, l. 18 iure inserted before avum suum.
19, l. 24 [non] omitted before confici.
21, l. 11 [ex] omitted before Italia.

INDEX TO THE NOTES AND TEXT WITH PHRASE LISTS.

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